# DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 119 338 EA 007 975

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|---|---|
| TITLE | School and Community. |
| INSTITUTION | Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris (France). Centre for Educational Research and Innovation. |
| PUB DATE | 75 |
| NOTE | 147p.; A report based on presentations made to a conference (Slaugham, United Kingdom, October 15-19, 1973) |
| AVAILABLE FROM | OECD Publications Center, Suite 1207, 1750 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006 ($6.00) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS. |
| DESCRIPTORS | Alternative Schools; Community Development; Community Education; *Community Involvement; *Community Resources; Community Schools; *Comparative Education; *Cooperative Education; Elementary Secondary Education; Minority Groups; Political Issues; Program Descriptions; *School Community Relationship; Vocational Education |

ABSTRACT

This book has its origins in an international conference organized by the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation and held in Slaugham, England, in October 1973. The conference brought together an international group of practitioners, administrators, and theoreticians. The five presentations included in the book deal with community development, the use of community resources by the schools, the implications of alternative schools, the relations between the school and the place of work, and the consequences of participation. (Author/IRT)

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# SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

EA 007 975

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ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

*Publié en français sous le titre :*

**L'ÉCOLE ET LA COLLECTIVITÉ**

*Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)*

# SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

A report based
on presentations made to a conference

at Slaugham
United Kingdom, 15th-19th October, 1973

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
1975

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# PREFACE

This book has its origins in an international conference organised by CERI and sponsored by the United Kingdom Department of Education and Science in Slaugham, England, in October 1973. Its five central contributions were prepared for submission to this conference and have been revised, in most cases not extensively, to take into account points raised and agreements reached at that time. The book's first and last contributions provide respectively a context and summary of the conference proceedings.

At another level, of course, the book's origins lie in CERI's involvement in the subject of school and community relations. This in turn reflects the Centre's conviction which has developed over the past two or three years, that the subject is a particularly apt one for international treatment. It is an area where the sharing of evidence and experience seems especially appropriate, especially given the dearth of systematic or empirical research dealing with the subject to be found in any one setting. It is also an area where - even more than in most - different cultural contexts influence the shape and outcomes of programmes involved and hence illuminate significant factors that may have been overlooked in a different context.

The subject is also an important one in itself, receiving increasing attention in many Member countries and inspiring increasing activity. Here CERI in a sense has been overtaken by events: when preparatory work began, the official reaction from many Member Countries was that this was a subject of interest to a few countries only. In the intervening time however the discussion has spread beyond its original boundaries and by now, in one way or another, nearly all Member countries are engaged in one or another aspect of the debate.

The present volume presents its discussion in the framework of five main themes of school-community interaction. In each case some assumptions are raised and, to the extent possible, clarified with recognition of the realities in question. Many ambiguities remain and some will be the subject of a further final report being prepared within the Secretariat. In the meantime it is hoped that the present volume will make its contribution to the ongoing debate.

J. R. GASS
Director,
Centre for Educational Research
and Innovation

# Chapter I

## BACKGROUND TO THE SUBJECT AND THE DISCUSSION

by

Stuart Maclure, United Kingdom

To convey the background to this discussion, it is necessary to begin by indicating the kind of expertise which came together at Slaugham, and then to show how this matched with the aspects of the main theme which held most interest for the different countries represented. There were three main groups of participants:

i) Academics and research and development workers. These include social scientists engaged on government-sponsored planning and development projects.

ii) Civil servants and administrators, including inspectors of schools. These included some who had direct, and more who had indirect, responsibility for school and community development policies. Others were particularly concerned with the links between school and the world of work.

iii) Teachers - mainly principals and heads of institutions, public and private, who regarded themselves as contributing in some special way to school and community relations.

This, therefore, provided one set of ingredients for the conference discussion: the interaction between practitioners, administrators and theoreticians. The attempt was made throughout to link the first-hand experience of the administrators and teachers with the sociological analysis of the social scientists.

The second conference dimension was the international one. The experience of the countries represented was extremely disparate. At one extreme there was the United States, where, proverbially, at least one example of every known educational experiment can be found. At the other, there were countries like Spain and Portugal whose interest in School and Community projects was more closely related to basic educational planning for urban and rural secondary education.

These international, interdisciplinary and interprofessional differences were matched by wide differences in the way in which members of the conference approached some of the key issues under discussion. As will be shown in later pages, it is not possible to start an international discussion of this kind with any consensus of view about the nature of "community" or the role of the school in society. One of the objects of an international exchange of experience and ideas on these topics must be to help to clarify these differences and relate them to their social context.

Three different kinds of school and community interaction can be identified.

### 1. School and place of work

This topic raised profound questions about the school's role; how should it combine responsibilities towards the economy (one of the most obvious community interests) with responsibilities towards the individual? What should be the relationship between general education and preparation for specific kinds of employment? What kind of counselling and guidance services are required to help the student move through school, understanding the positive and negative choices he has to make at every stage, doing justice to individual aspirations, to the reality of local opportunity and to national manpower needs? What is the outcome of the inevitable clashes which occur when the value system of the school conflicts with that of the factory or other workplace - made the more evident by every attempt to make a reality of work experience, both for students and for teaching staff?

In vocational schools or sections of general secondary schools which provide vocational courses geared to employment in particular industries, "breaking down the barriers between the school and the community" means taking the school to the place of work and *vice versa*. This usually includes trying to improve on the more traditional kinds of work experience scheme and increase the realism of the experience without pressurising the pupil into a particular industry or job when he leaves school.

The technical difficulties are real enough; they have the effect of reinforcing the natural tendency of school and industry to keep themselves to themselves. The co-operation of trade unions has to be won. Employers have to be persuaded. Worthwhile forms of work and observation have to be found. The safety of pupils, their insurance and legal liabilities have to be provided for, and all of these require careful arrangements for discipline and supervision which involve those in responsibility both in schools and in factories, offices or workshops.

When all these matters have been attended to there still remain the formidable pedogogic tasks of making the actual experience which students derive from their interaction with the community at work, enlarge their capacity to choose, to solve problems and analyse issues - in fact, how this can be combined with the rest of their education to contribute to their personal development.

In the context of an international discussion this area of activity was of more concern, it seemed, to the continental European participants than to the Anglo-Saxons - for two obvious reasons. Firstly, because they normally expected the schools - including specialised vocational schools - to give skill training which in Anglo-Saxon countries is often the responsibility of industry. Any attempt to make this link between education, skill training and employment more effective, must lead to a consideration of this aspect of school and community. The second reason is negative - the school and place of work link provides an acceptable way of encouraging school and community interaction, because it does not pose a serious threat to the centralised planning on which most continental education systems depend. The emphasis on school experiments and local participation, which characterises many North American and United Kingdom schemes, poses great difficulties for centralised systems. It depends on what for them may be an intolerably high degree of flexibility and a willingness - almost an encouragement - to allow things to get out of hand if this will help to release resources of energy, imagination and goodwill at the school and local community level.(1)

This is a matter to which reference will be made later on, but it is a plausible general proposition that the more effort is put into methods of expressing community purposes in centralised education policies for the nation state as a whole (or for Land, State or Province), the less scope there will be for open-ended commitments to school and community interaction, at the local level which may - must - conflict with national policies sooner or later. In such circumstances, however, well-regulated attempts at the local level to respond to differences in employment and skilled manpower needs, form a logical response which is likely to be both popular and fruitful.

Blichfeldt's paper, which provided a major input into the discussions about the school and place of work, steered clear of any facile suggestion that the schools should be geared to crude manpower policies, by challenging both school and industry to respond to social and educative needs which were common to both. His concern with the organisation of learning applies both to the school and to industry, and the quest for creative relationships between teachers, learners and the subject matter on which educational activities are based goes very much wider than the specific curricular circumstances of the vocational school. Following up work done at the Tavistock Institute in London and the

Oslo Work Research Institute, Blichfeldt had applied what might be called a production engineer's analysis to both the school and the factory as a place of work, seeking the kind of changes in attitudes, methods and activities which would lessen the dysfunction between the way children are expected to learn at school and the democratic needs of industry.

Most of the practical experience which members of the conference fed into the general debate was of a more limited and down to earth character. It was also noticeable that, just as the school and place of work themselves appealed to the Scandinavians because it avoided some of the more threatening implications of local initiative and conflicting objectives, so too the Anglo-Saxon's interest in the sociological possibilities of the school as an element in community development is liable to divert attention from vocational education and the essential links in public policy between education and the labour market (though most schools remain acutely conscious of the job situation). By a kind of exaggerated delicacy educational theorists in the United Kingdom, for instance, seem to prefer to discuss what schools can do for the community and the community can do for schools in terms of local participation and curriculum development rather than jobs and skills - almost as if to seek ways of matching the work of the schools to the needs of the community in terms of employment and production was to connive at continued exploitation. The political issues behind such an attitude are never far beneath the surface of the whole debate. If the Scandinavians seem much clearer than the British or the Americans about the relations between school and work in a mixed economy, it is also true that in Scandinavia the relationship between educational goals and those of social policy are generally more clearly articulated.

### 2. Schools for minority groups within the community.

A second kind of school and community interaction can be identified in the creation and operation of alternative schools, aspects of which are discussed in Jerry L. Fletcher's paper (page 55). These are "alternative" in the sense that they offer the parent or pupil a different kind of school from the main body of publicly-provided and administered schools and, thereby, consciously represent a different response to the needs and desires - expressed or unexpressed - of some coherent section of the community.

Many private educational institutions, supported by fees and fund-raising, are not "alternative" in the sense which would be generally recognised in this context. Nor would many Church schools in countries which have a dual system of publicly-provided schools and voluntary or confessional schools which may or may not receive their day to day running costs and all or most of their capital costs from public funds. For although these represent a response to sectional needs within the community - as for instance differences in religious belief and teaching - they are firmly within the conventional education system and the secular instruction which they offer is not different in any special sense from that provided in the ordinary schools.

The alternative school developments which are of interest here fall into four groups:

a) "free schools" - independent of the public education system and relying for support mainly on fees or fund raising.
b) alternative schools with access to public funds, but outside the publicly provided and administered education system.
c) alternative schools within the public system.
d) schools within schools, or mini-schools which provide a change of "alternative" school opportunities for a minority of pupils within an ordinary public school.

Those under (a) tend to be set up by minority groups dedicated to particular political or social ideals such as international harmony or inter-racial peace and goodwill, or "free" and "open" methods of education, or the overt politicisation of learning on Marxist lines.(2)

Some of these on both sides of the Atlantic are indistinguishable from what might be called, generally, "progressive schools" except that there is an assumption of some sort of community support and stimulus: that they are not simply the private responses of individuals strong or rich enough to make their own educational arrangements for their children, but serious attempts to mobilise larger community demands and to meet them.

Thus, many of the "free schools" are run on a shoe-string by volunteers and depend on various kinds of direct or indirect public support. They often have correspondingly precarious existences because the support of their chosen communities may shift as the demands to which they are a response change. Being geared to subgroups whithin the community, not to the community as a whole in any clearly defined political sense, they are vulnerable to the sectarianism and strife which is the obverse side to their freshness, idealism and spontaneity.

Under (b) come alternative schools in Denmark and the Netherlands set up within a statutory legal and financial framework which originated from the desire to protect religious freedom in education. The Danish tradition of "free schools" is, of course, quite different from the much more recent tradition in the United States but may still be capable of development in new directions. Any group of parents wishing to set up a school can do so, sure in the knowledge that they can recover 85 per cent of the cost from the State subject to various regulations about efficiency and inspection. Within certain limitations imposed by the curricular conventions of the system as a whole, there is then room for a large measure of freedom within which the school can institute the kind of programme which the promoters want.

In practice this usually means a school which expresses progressive educational ideas, invoking the names of Dewey and Neill, and providing an unauthoritarian, unhierarchical ambience, outside the State system. There is a tendency for the alternative schools in such circumstances to be middle class and relatively affluent and a reflection, therefore, of the minority desires of only a part of the community. There is no direct connection, however, between progressive educational nostrums and such state-supported private educational activity, which could, within the law, as easily be committed to elitest ends.

Under (c) and (d) come attempts, mainly in the United States and Canada, to produce alternative responses from within the system alongside the ordinary schools. These alternative schools, draw heavily on the same stock of progressive ideas as the free schools, and hold themselves out to pupils who are dissenting from the ordinary schools as places where, they, the pupils, will be differently treated and valued.

Like the free schools (and the community schools discussed in the next section) they are often much concerned to break down the barriers between the school and the world outside - between the school as an institution and the larger community of which it is a part. Hence the notion of "schools without walls" - schools with the minimum of fixed plant which draw on other institutions and other professionals besides teachers for meeting places and instruction. The best known example of such schools is the Parkway school in Philadelphia in which the pupils, chosen by lot from a large number of volunteers, receive their own programmes of work which take them to many different people and agencies for courses of study and sources of information.

Many other less famous experiments have been mounted elsewhere, aimed at a similar opening up of the school to the community at large - as, for example, in the "shop front" schools which have come into being in improvised premises as the base for small alternative institutions for pupils disenchanted with big urban high schools. In some instances the logic of the alternative school has been taken further and big schools have, themselves, been subdivided into smaller "schools within schools" as in the well known case of Berkeley High School in California. Not all these developments are outward-looking and barrier-breaking. In some cases the community needs to which such alternative schools or sub-schools are a response are ethnic in character, and the smaller, self-contained unit becomes a way of concentrating the attention of a communal group on its own problems. Early in its life the Berkeley High "school within a school", for instance, developed a more or less exclusive black house with its own curriculum from which other ethnic groups were excluded.

In many cases public authorities have shown considerable imagination in backing unorthodox schemes. But the relationships between the institution and the public authority automatically separates these schools from the so-called "free school movement" outside the public system. Quite apart from the obvious significance of public funding as a source of stability and strength, the existence of publicly provided "alternatives" has a major bearing on the self-image of the "free school" and the attitude of the public towards it. Many would hold that the completely free school - with its short life expectancy (and its risk of self-indulgent idiosyncracy) - is a luxury for those who can choose to enjoy it, which is liable to distract attention from the more serious business of reform within "the system".

### 3. Community schools

As the papers which follow make clear, it is not at all clear that any narrow or precise meaning can be attached to the term "community schools".(3) For the purpose of this section it is used to indicate the large and heterogeneous category of developments taking place within public education systems which aim to exploit the mutual dependence of the school and the community in the interest both of good education and the health of community life. Community schools in this sense are different from the community-provided alternative institutions discussed in the previous section. They represent an attempt to make neighbourhoods more responsive to their neighbourhood communities as a whole. "Alternative" schools, on the other hand, are attempts to provide for minority groups whose community is usually one of interest rather than geography.

At its simplest, the point of entry is a review of community resources. With so much physical capital locked up in the educational plant, there has been a recurring desire in most countries to find ways in which these could be placed at the disposal of the community as a whole and not be reserved exclusively and expensively for boys and girls of school age. One aspect of school and community interaction is seen at this uncontroversial level in various forms of dual use of an obvious and modest character - day schools serve as evening institutes and adult education centres and youth clubs; school rooms are let at subsidised rents to clubs and societies;

keep-fit classes use the physical education equipment; sports grounds and swimming pools are opened up for public use.

From the idea of shared resources and a managerial quest for economy in the use of public services come more ambitious notions of community development. Sharing institutions may be one way of promoting the growth of a sense of community. There is an echo - certainly in some of the rural examples(4) of this kind of educational-cum-community development - of an earlier age when village life revolved around the parish church and its social, cultural and educational activities. The village college (and even, it seems, the downtown nursery school) may not be without romantic ambitions to be the latterday secular equivalent.

This pastoral model can be found, much modified, in school and community interaction in urban areas. The need to share resources and the desirability of combining them to better effect continue to offer a stimulus. So too, in many places, does a certain confident paternalism about the role of educational institutions as catalysts of community development.

One form this may take may be the grouping together on a single site of a whole range of institutions which might otherwise be set up separately. For example, the need to expand pre-school facilities - ante- and post-natal clinics, mothercraft classes, day care centres, nursery classes, play groups - may prompt the desire to provide these in a single complex of buildings, cutting across the administrative divisions between separate social services to focus on the mother and child together. Such a pre-school centre then (hopefully) becomes more than the sum of its separate parts. The users come to play a bigger part in its management. They have a better chance to articulate their needs and the whole enterprise may begin to assume an informal adult education role as well.

Some of the same thinking lies behind the Abraham Moss Centre at Cheetham Crumpsall, in Manchester, England, the Centre Educatif et Cultural de la Vallée de l'Yerres near Paris. The Cheetham Crumpsall complex includes a comprehensive secondary school for 1,350 pupils aged 11 to 18, a further education college, a library and resource centre, sports facilities, adult education centre, youth centre, students' union and a small short-stay residential wing. The mixture at Yerres comprises:

- a secondary school for the 11 to 16 age range;
- a vocational centre for evening classes;
- a library for the school and the public;
- sports centre;
- a "House for All" - a leisure centre providing opportunity for hobbies and recreational activities for old and young alike;

- a conservatoire for music teaching and dancing, which services the primary schools in the neighbourhood;
- an art school;
- a centre on which various social services are based.

Efficiency is one end in view certainly - classrooms can be used up to 1,500 hours a year instead of 900 - but this is no longer the main aim. The hope is that the quality of the activities in the separate parts of the composite institution can be improved because the activities are pursued in concert. The emphasis on life-long education is reflected in the coming together of school and adult education, leisure and learning, high culture and popular culture. The sheer magnitude of the enterprise serves as an advertisement and helps to create demand and thus build up a community in and around the Yerres centre.

The legal difficulties have been overcome because of the high level support and because of its experimental nature, but without some dispensation from the regulations which control the curriculum in the secondary school it would have been impossible to make the most of the inter-age-group, inter-disciplinary and even inter-institutional co-operation. The range of ordinary activities has been extended. There has been a much greater emphasis on the use of visual methods and a determined attempt has been made to open up teaching and learning to contemporary reality.

Such developments do not take place without stress - among the staff, between the institution and the central administration, and between the institution and the public. The limitations of participation are obvious enough. The objectives are predetermined by the authorities without prior consultation with the community. "Who is the community?" is a question which is only answered in retrospect - the institution creates its own community, those whose need it most effectively serves.

By bringing together such a wide range of educational and social activities, centres like Cheetham Crumpsall and Vallée de l'Yerres give dramatic emphasis to one approach to school and community - and formalise it in concrete. This, of course, carries risks. The buildings dictate one set of social and educational answers. What if future generations decide they would prefer different answers - or even different questions? Investment of capital on this scale implies a similar investment in expensive ideas. It is quite possible to extend the range of activities associated with a secondary school without going as far as these all-embracing, multi-purpose institutions. One way of doing this is to bring together in a combined school and community college, staff who work at more than one educational level - for example, secondary and adult or youth work. The mainstream of community development as described by Robert Ashcroft (page 25) covers these more modest developments also, examples of which are legion on both sides of the Atlantic. They draw heavily on the goodwill and missionary spirit of the teachers, reflecting not only certain theories of community development but also, and more explicitly, certain approaches to the education of children who find learning difficult. They are usually related to a quest for a solution to educational problems in difficult social environments and a perception that educational progress on the part of the child is closely linked with home attitudes and aspirations.

Schools like Minsthorpe High School in Yorkshire or Countesthorpe in Leicestershire would come into this category - essentially neighbourhood schools whose "community school" character lies in the extended range of activities associated with the school and the commitment of the school to a two-way relationship with the local community. This means not only bringing parents and neighbours into the school and involving them in its activities, but also taking the school to the community and using the multifarious assets of the neighbourhood and its institutions for educational purposes. The paper prepared by the CERI Secretariat (page 43) gives examples of the many ways in which community resources are being used, drawn from a wide range of institutions in differing local circumstances.

An adult education programme on the one hand and an energetic parents' association on the other figure in most community school programmes, as the basis from which a genuine two-way communication process - inward as well as outward - can be developed. For most community schools, the point of departure is educational, and the school is - initially at least - in charge of things. Some of the occasions for community action focused on the school may seem a little contrived. The headmaster or principal may somehow betray the fact that he is more interested in the act of participation than in the specific object which some particular form of community activity is intended to attain. Ideally in the course of time the community - school interaction becomes self-generating, but in practice the headmaster of principal usually occupies a key role in maintaining and renewing the communication process and will probably let it be known, subtly, that he likes it that way. It is, perhaps, less than realistic to expect it to be otherwise in "main-line" community school developments.

Where conflict commonly arises is when the community school development is part of a larger community development project, and the community response is being supported and stirred up by professional community development workers whose view of the communication process is different from, if no less instrumental than, the headmaster's.

Many people would put the need for effective communication at the centre of any attempt to develop community and school relationships. One such scheme described at the conference was in Ontario, Canada, where community involvement was seen, at least at the provincial level, as part of the logic of an elementary recognition that "learning is life long". A small team of consultants in the provincial Ministry of Education were fostering 15 pilot projects for community education in urban and rural areas. As in other places the school was seen as part of a larger set of community resources - one educational delivery vehicle among several - recognition of which makes it necessary to regard education as something much wider than mere schooling.

Participation in such circumstances demands information, clearly defined responsibilities, and training - the public and the educators have, in their different ways to be educated to work together, "setting goals and evaluating performance". The difficulties arise when you get down below the level of generalisation and attempt to define the responsibilities which are needed to prevent the two extremes - apathy and revolt - which signal failure. And "training" people to develop the capacity for co-operation and collaboration will not, in itself, eliminate friction or confrontation which springs from fundamental conflicts about roles or purposes - specially if these are political or professional.

The participation process is discussed at length by Konrad von Moltke (page 88). Many of the controversies of the community school arise out of fact and fiction about participation. Most community school projects are connected with urban deprivation, often crossed with ethnic problems and underscored by the politics of disadvantage. The questions which separate the proponents of the "mainstream" and "radical" theories arise fairly early on. What is the dominant aim? Is it to improve the learning opportunities of a generation of disadvantaged children using the community and its revitalisation as one of the instruments? Or is it to revitalise the community, using the school, its politics and practical activities as a laboratory for community action to this end? In curricular terms the issue rapidly turns on the relationship of what is to be taught to the life chances of the local community and the choice, true or false, between education aimed at enabling the lucky few to get out by the educational escape hatch, or the locked-in many to criticise and hopefully, change their own environment.

At a fairly early stage the political questions come to the fore, together with the ethics of politicisation as an educational objective. How much weight can be placed on the political institutions of disadvantaged communities - who speaks for them? - what happens when professional educators-cum-community developers are brought into a master-servant relationship with those whose community institutions they are seeking to build up? Who gets what job and why? The examples which Ashcroft gives for the United Kingdom illustrate how these approaches differ, and how conflict is bound to arise between the national "system" and the peripheral areas where radical developments in school and community relations are taking place, often with public funds. Public support for radical community development in North America and to a much lesser extent in Britain comes from many sources, proving that the left hand does not need to know what the right hand is doing, and rationalising the process by reference to the stimulative effect of conflict situations. When the tensions become excessive the support is liable to be withdrawn.

How far the conflict goes, and what form it takes depends on the circumstances and the degree of participation the local community demands and receives, how local community leaders emerge and are chosen, and how flexible the "system" is to changes in curriculum prompted from the community. Radical community school developments are, by definition, open-ended and unpredictable and produce situations of considerable strain for most of the people who become engaged in them.

There is plenty of evidence from the United States to show just how explosive and painful may be the consequences which follow determined efforts to transfer power and initiatives from the professionals to the payment - especially if this also means, from white to black and from rich to poor. But then, no-one ever said school and community interaction was peaceful or painless.

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As the discussion unfolded at Slaugham, it became clear that any neat structure designed to distinguish different kinds of school and community interaction was likely to mislead if there were not also a readiness to modify and redraw boundary lines at frequent intervals. Necessary as is the scaffolding of a conceptual framework, the issues are not yet sufficiently clearly defined for any outline to be more than provisional.

It became clear that some of the North American participants found it useful to sum up most of the issues in a single phrase - they were looking for ways of making schools responsive to consumer demands. "Responsive schools" - all schools, not just some which assumed some special community role - was their aim.

This accent on consumer demands introduced a somewhat different element into the debate. In North American terms it included looking at voucher schemes(5) and similar devices, which handed back decision-making power to consumers. Of course such an interpretation of school and community interaction has far-reaching implications:

it suggests, for example, pluralistic definitions of community which are wholly at odds with the unitary concepts of public education in most European countries. It is important to mention it at this stage, however, because there was a suggestion, if no more, that experience has proved the limitations of community school development and control and that something more finely-tuned to individual and group needs will be required in a post-industrial society which has to learn to live with less consensus and more diversity.

## A framework for discussion

It was partly to avoid getting bogged down in definitions of "community school" and similar elusive terms that five major topics were selected to provide a framework for discussion:

- "the school as a base for community development" with primary emphasis on urban areas;
- "the systematic use of community resources by the school" i.e. the way in which the school makes use of these resources;
- "the end of the formal institution" raising the problem of the decentralisation of school facilities and their integration with other agencies and institutions;
- "the relations between school and place of work" in terms of the possibilities and limitations of "work experience" and other forms of school/place of work co-operation and the location of responsibility for training;
- "the consequences of participation" i.e. a general consideration of community participation in the school activities and its effects on the ensuing educational process.

It is to these we turn now, and to the papers prepared for the conference by the CERI secretariat and consultants Robert Ashcroft, Konrad von Moltke, Jerry L. Fletcher and Jon Frode Blichfeldt.

## REFERENCES

1. The decision in France in 1973 to restrict the central control of the curriculum in such a way as to leave responsibility for 10 per cent of the time in the hands of the school is one way of encouraging a strictly limited amount of diversity. In Sweden a somewhat similar scheme aims at transferring more discretionary power to the local school district. Both schemes represent important innovations in the context of hitherto highly centralised systems of curriculum control but their relevance to school and community interaction has yet to become clear.

2. One such example - the school of Barbiana in a mountain village in Italy - has been described in a best-selling book. As portrayed by an Italian participant at the conference, the Barbiana school illustrated many facets of the alternative schools - very small (only about fifteen boys) depending heavily on the personality of an individual teacher, progressive teaching methods, radical ideology, individual, incapable of being generalised - yet influential in much modified form because it seemed to say something about student disillusion and discontent and the barrenness of much conventional educational activity. Its influence was to be seen, it was suggested, in research and development elsewhere and as encouragement for other attempts to set up alternatives in Northern and Central Italy. To what extent it should be regarded as "community" school is largely a political question.

3. For a discussion of the community school in England and Wales see an unpublished background paper prepared for the conference by one of the British participants, Mr. J. B. Willcock, H.M.I., former headmaster of a secondary school in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, Minsthorpe High School. "In some cases", he writes, "the phrase is used to describe an educational establishment which in addition to providing full-time schooling for the children of a community seeks to extend its role into aspects of community development, work, which attempts to serve as many facets of the life of its community as it can, and which both ventures out into and welcomes in the community until the division between school and community is blurred. In other cases, title is given to a school whose facilities and resources are used for educational and recreational purposes by members of the community in addition to those in full-time attendance at the school. A third interpretation is perhaps more properly described as the "community-conscious" school which places importance on the establishment of a close liaison with those parts of the community, particularly the home and parents, which have a direct bearing on the school's execution of its main task of educating the children of the community".

4. The village colleges founded by Henry Morris in Cambridgeshire before and after the Second World War provide the obvious examples. See Educator Extraordinary by Harry Rée, London 1973.

5. Educational voucher schemes are based on the simple proposition that finance for education should be channelled through the individual family instead of through institutions. Public support

for schools would, thus, be distributed in the form of vouchers to parents, cashable in the form of education at the school of the parents' choice. The consumer's voice is thereby strengthened and - theoretically at least - a diversity of schools becomes possible to respond to the range of parental demands. There is no single voucher scheme: an infinite number of variations could be envisaged according to the social or community priorities reflected in the weighting of the value of the voucher between one locality and another, or between different social or ethnic groups, or decisions to tax or not to tax the value of the voucher.

An experimental voucher scheme has been introduced in Alum Rock, a socially disadvantaged school district near San Francisco in California. Others are projected in New Hampshire and Connecticut.

# Chapter II

# THEMES OF INVOLVEMENT

## 1. THE SCHOOL AS A BASE FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

by

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Unfortunately for our purposes it is clear that the substantive concepts of the title i.e. "the school" and "community development" are problematic. Both mean many different things to many different groups of people. Moreover if the two concepts are conjoined the difficulties are compounded. Thus within a group of educationalists, both theorists and practitioners, there may be a degree of consensus about the objectives of education and the appropriate institutional framework for attaining those objectives, but profound disagreement about the meaning and purpose of community development, or even of its relevance to education. Similar ambivalence prevails when "community developers" look at the school. And, although it is not the primary purpose of this paper to offer a set of alternative definitions of either the school or community development, it seems necessary to make a plea for clarity of definition from those who contribute to the debate about school and community. In short it should not be assumed that we all mean the same thing when we use these words.

### Theories of Community Development

First and somewhat cursorily it is necessary to examine some of the possible meanings of community development in order to elicit for what it is the school may conceivably be used as a base. The notion of community development was elaborated initially in the context of the problems of the developing countries, i.e. overwhelmingly rural societies confronted with the need, or the desire to modernise their economies. Clearly, in order to attain the end of modernisation, certain skills, hitherto lacking, were needed among the mass of the population. The relationship of education to the desired end was relatively clear in such societies, e.g. literacy has universally been seen as a necessary attribute for the transmission of skills through printed material. However, and this is a point which is clearly relevant to contemporary urban societies, the styles of community development have varied enormously among different developing nations. One need only contrast the emphasis placed on overt political mobilisation and education in China and Tanzania on the one hand with the "non-political" style of community development in India to become aware of this difference. But whichever model was used at least one purpose of community development was relatively clear; given the end of modernisation there was a need to establish a peasantry and working-class which could e.g. create efficient drainage schemes, crop rotation etc. in the rural sector, or handle factory machinery efficiently in the industrial sector of the economy. In other words "community development" was explicitly associated with the acquisition and use of hard skills, which were functional to the growth of the economy, by a relatively unskilled population.

Such clarity of purpose is more difficult to find when we look at examples of community development in already modernised societies. Not all the reasons for this lack of clarity are to be deplored. The goals of industrialised societies, even if it is meaningful to talk of "goals" at all in this context, are manifold and often contradictory. Certainly an emphasis on the acquisition of those skills necessary for modernisation hardly has much significance in contemporary urban contexts, although it may remain the most appropriate model in rural areas of modernising societies. However it is not possible to produce, in a paper of this length, models of community development which are appropriate for all socio-economic systems, and the emphasis will therefore be almost entirely on those who live in towns and cities in economically advanced societies. However, the preamble concerning modernising societies may still have relevance to urban communities in advanced societies. It may be that a "hard-skill" model, albeit of a different kind, is more appropriate than many of the alternatives. This point will be pursued below.

I would now like to turn briefly to an analysis of the theories underlying community development in advanced societies. The analysis is necessarily schematic and oversimplified: a series of "ideal types" rather than a description of anything which actually exists. Criticism of the models will be deferred until their implications for education and the schools are considered.

### a) The Universal Model

The proponents of this model claim that there is a lack of community mindedness and organisation among all sections of society including the relatively affluent as well as the poor. Community development is seen as a panacea promoting mutual involvement and concern in societies where anomie and alienation have become pre-eminent social characteristics. Its crucial theoretical constructs are those of Tonnies i.e. "Gemeinschaft" and "Gesellschaft" ("community" and "society"). The history of industrial man is seen as being a development out of pre-industrial community through industrial to post-industrial society. "Society" has mass characteristics, i.e. man's major roles are determined both by his position within the division of labour and his subservience to impersonal and large-scale forces, state and local bureaucracies, trade-unions and international corporations. It should be noted that the critics of 'mass-society' have included both conservative thinkers, such as T.S. Eliot and Ortega Y. Gasset, and radicals such as Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse. None of these, incidentally, pointed to community development as a possible remedy for the human condition.

However proponents of the universal model have been influenced by such thinkers. The model has two important dimensions deriving from these influences. First "universal" theorists usually involve an earlier, arguably mythical, golden age in which anomie (i.e. the absence of norms for economic and social action), did not exist. Feudalism is sometimes cited explicitly as an historical epoch in which men knew precisely what was expected of them, whether lord or serf, and thus led fuller and more contented lives. Such invocations of feudalism primarily but by no means exclusively (see the 19th century socialist writings of William Morris and Ruskin in England) emanate from conservative theorists. However the 'search for the past' is also prevalent in much contemporary radical writing particularly in its critique of the alienation of modern industrial life. Alienation is *not* the same as anomie. It is in fact almost its polar opposite. Alienation is a product of man's being tied to rules, machines, or institutions in a predetermined way without being able to control them. An end to alienation is often sought through the recreation of more primitive and less rule-bound societies. The growth of the multifarious varieties of alternative society movements (a form of community development) can hardly be explained without recourse to a form of alienation theory. It could be argued that many 'free-school' initiatives are guided by a somewhat utopian search for a community without alienation.

The second dimension is an emphasis on the need for political and cultural autonomy at local level. Local community development is seen as a challenge to the hegemony of the national state as well as being a necessary condition for combating either alienation or anomie by making the decision making process matter at a more immediate level, and by involving more people in this process.

Similarly a resurrection of local culture at the expense of the dominant, alien culture, of either mass society or of ruling elites, is seen as a prerequisite of community development.

b) The "Mainstream" Model

The second model is the mainstream of community development practice, certainly in the United States and the United Kingdom and probably in continental Europe as well. Unlike the first model it is exclusively concerned with the problems of the materially poor, although its followers may think that their principles are universally applicable. The crucial theoretical distinction between model (a) and model (b) is that model (b) is largely concerned with (in Seymour Martin Lipset's phrase) "tidying up the ragged edges of the good society". On this view society has succeeded in providing relative abundance for most of its members but an unfortunate minority are condemned to relative poverty. This minority live in decaying inner-city areas, declining one-industry towns, or in rural areas depopulated by the economic growth of urban areas. The problem of poverty is often compounded by concomitant problems such as a high proportion of migrant labour, composed of ethnic minorities.

The problems of the poor are not seen as being merely the absence of job opportunities, decent housing, educational and recreational facilities. Certainly they are usually deprived of access to such goods and services but a mere transference of resources to the poor will not work. Poverty is often seen as an inter-generational phenomenon which has produced its own culture, and this culture in turn is a major determinant in preventing the poor from obtaining access to goods or services on the open market or through statutory agencies. Additionally proponents of model (b) usually concede that the State or local authority services have been characterised by an over-rigid mechanistic view of their role in providing for the poor and that this can be changed through modification of the structures and attitudes with which the officials work. In short model (b) can be said to be about attitudinal change among the poor and among those whose work impinges most directly upon their lives.

Accompanying this concern with attitudinal change, and changes within the structure of welfare bureaucracies, there is often an emphasis on the unfortunate ossification of local political life. Active participation by the poor in the allocation of resources and power which determine their life chances has either never existed or has significantly declined [e.g. in the United Kingdom(1)]. It should be noted incidentally that mainstream community development sometimes premises implicitly, and often states explicitly, that the major problems confronting the poor are localised, or that solutions to these problems can be found in the immediate locality.

More often however there is a somewhat illogical conjunction of societal diagnosis with neighbourhood solution. First let us consider societal diagnosis. It is perfectly clear that many of the poor areas usually suffer from widespread unemployment. It is equally clear that the creation of more employment opportunities has depended ultimately upon major capital investment decisions made either by large firms or by central government, the latter usually taking the form of subsidies to private or public enterprise in return for investment in poor regions. Moreover in Western Europe the creation of "the regional fund" within the EEC means that such decisions may well be made internationally; so that, in practice, north eastern England will be competing with southern Italy for scarce capital to resolve its problems. Similarly two statutory Community Development Projects in the United Kingdom are situated in areas heavily dependent upon the sugarcane refining industry. EEC agricultural agreements being negotiated (at the time of writing) would have catastrophic implications for this industry(2) and for these neighbourhoods(3).

Local solutions to problems of such magnitude are irrelevant. Even acting as vigorous pressure groups, at national or international level, Community Development Projects cannot be of much significance. Governments, trade unions, political parties etc. representing those likely to suffer will carry much more political weight in economic negotiation. It is precisely this impotence, even if honestly recognised, that makes community developers fall back on neighbourhood solutions. By this I mean attempts to create 'cottage industries', or deliberate policies of putting some of the local unemployed on the project pay-roll. At the moment such small-scale schemes employ slightly more than 1 per cent of the unemployed in one project area (i.e. more than 98 per cent of those unemployed before the commencement of the project remain unemployed in spite of project activity).

It may be that this analysis over-emphasizes the importance of unemployment and that projects could make significant impact on other aspects of social well-being. There is however no evidence to substantiate such a position.

### c) The Radical Alternative

The last model is perhaps most easily seen as a negative response to the first two. Its proponents would argue that although model (a) is diagnostically useful in highlighting the nature of the disease, its usefulness is attenuated by its universality. If the powerfully affluent are seen as having essentially the same problems as the powerless poor, then the causal nexus between the existence of the former and the existence of the latter is conveniently ignored. Model (b) would be similarly criticised because of its use of terms like "underprivileged" or "deprived" to describe the lot of the poor. If the poor are merely underprivileged then community development is concerned with the granting of privileges to the poor which are at present the preserve of the rich. The radical theorist would argue that nowhere do the mainstream community development theorists show how it is possible to transfer resources and power to the poor, on a significant scale, without this having dramatic consequences for the wealthy as well as for the poor. It is therefore argued by the radical that the privileged exploit the underprivileged in order to maintain and enhance their privileges. Statutory community development (as in Community Development Projects in the United Kingdom) is thus in a profoundly paradoxical position. Inasmuch as it succeeds in transferring wealth and power to the poor, to that extent it undermines the society which, in a sense, sponsors it. Few organisations are willing to finance their own downfall, and it is arguable that the closure of many American community development projects is a consequence of this paradox. The more successful they have been (given the radical's criterion of success), the more they may have been subject to termination(4).

"Community development" for the radical theorist and practitioner is a synonym for local grass roots political action in which the oppressed are concerned to challenge the structures which oppress them. It is an attempt to create political consciousness and organisations with and for the powerless which will enable them to fight more effectively. Moreover although the action takes place locally (there is a sense in which all action is local) it is often about national issues (e.g. government legislation) or international decisions (a multinational corporation decision to close a local factory). Much of mainstream community development is seen as an attempt to buy local energy and initiative to make marginal impact as in the running of an effective "play scheme" or "adventure playground" for children whilst significant issues of unemployment, poor housing, racial discrimination, educational inequality etc. are ignored.

## Education and Community Development

### a) The Universal Model

As already argued some, albeit crude, definitions of theories underlying community development were necessary before we could begin to look at some of their implications for school involvement in the local community. Clearly advocates of the three different models could have radically different perceptions about the role of education in general and of the school in particular in its relations with society.

There seem to me to be two educational ideologies which reflect the universal and the mainstream models of community development. However, these ideologies should not be seen as discrete; just as 'mainstream' community developers have drawn significantly on the writings of the critics of mass society, so those devising educational strategies for the urban and rural underprivileged have been much influenced by educators who have seen education as having a universal social mission, as being an instrument for transforming the culture.

Among the latter certainly the most influential have been Dewey and his pragmatist followers. As early as 1897 Dewey wrote that "the school is primarily a social institution"(5). His later writings are, in one form or another, a reiteration of this basic premise. Thus in 1928 Dewey assets that "We are doubtless far from realising the potential efficacy of education as a constructive agency of improving society, from realising that it represents not only a development of children and youth but also of the future society of which they will be the constituents"(6).

Many of those influenced by Dewey such as Childs have emphasized the need to establish a shared culture through the transmission by the school of the culture's essential values and loyalties. The school is, on this view, a central agency in the creation of a united society with a common culture. Moreover its role will be decisive in determining the quality of life for present and future generations.

Dewey's influence has been profound; and even those who have argued in disagreement with him, such as A.S. Neill, often sound curiously similar in emphasizing first the primary importance of the school as a socialising agent over and above other institutions and social structures, and second in having a somewhat naive perspective on those non-school structures, particularly class and status, which establish a heterogeneous culture in advanced industrial societies. This issue will be returned to below when discussing contemporary educational reform strategies in the United Kingdom.

Without recourse to a lengthy description of 'universal' community schooling in practice, and without attempting to trace historically the influence of thinkers other than Dewey, suffice it to say that both in America and in the United Kingdom (particularly in the Community College experiments in Cambridgeshire and Leicestershire) there have been thorough-going attempts to relate the school to local society irrespective of class and status differences among students. However it would take us a considerable way from a consideration of what is conventionally understood by community development to consider the successes and failures of such schools.

### b) The 'Mainstream' Model and Education

This section is concerned with community schooling and the relatively poor. First it is clear that community schooling for the poor emerges primarily as a response to the apparent failure of compensatory education programmes in several industrial societies but particularly in the United States(7). (Compensatory education being defined as school-based attempts to improve the attainment of children from materially or culturally deprived backgrounds). The post-mortem on the enormous pre-school Headstart programme in the United States was distinctly pessimistic. It stated explicitly that the programme had been a failure in achieving any lasting effects on the cognitive development of the children engaged(8). Analysis of other experimental projects from pre-school to high school was almost as negative. However the various educational programmes associated with President Johnson's War on Poverty did claim some successes although the empirical evidence for their success is thin. Among these projects were the ones which had found that school-based projects were not, of themselves, enough; that in order to understand poor school performance it was necessary for the teacher and perhaps the student to understand the community in which he taught or learned. The Headstart group in Mississippi was among those which argued that the school must be related to the wider community's problems and that school curricula must be changed in order to promote such a relationship.

However critiques of compensatory education were not developed exclusively, or even most importantly, by "compensatory educationalists" who had discovered that their programmes foundered on ignorance of the social milieu within which the education took place. Professor Basil Bernstein attacked the concept of compensatory education because "it serves to direct our attention away from the internal organisation and the educational context of the school, and focus our attention upon the families and children... It follows that something is missing in the family, and the children are looked at as deficit systems... Once the problem is seen even implicitly in this way, then it becomes appropriate to coin the terms 'cultural deprivation', 'linguistic deprivation', etc. And then these labels do their own sad work"(9). Bernstein concludes, in effect, that it is positively damaging to discuss compensatory education when neither the school (in terms of resources) nor the social context of the school are adequate. Why discuss compensatory education when "education" has not yet been tried for significant sections of the population?

Bernstein was only one of several educational theorists who recognised the implications of compensatory strategems for education, and to his influential voice were added those of critics of the concept of "poverty" itself as developed by the "cultural" theorists. O.D. Duncan, for instance, abrasively asserts that policy-makers would do well to note the evidence that "poverty is not a trait but a condition"(10). The failure of most compensatory experiments and the correlative emphasis on the hard facts of poverty conjoined to make some educational practitioners aware that they must in one way or another relate their school to the real world.

## Experiments in Community Education

What follows is a straightforward factual account of three attempts by schools or, in the third case, of an individual within a school to relate the school more closely to its immediate environment. All have implications for educational and community development theory and practice and will be referred to again in my conclusion(11).

### a) The Lawrence Weston School, Bristol(12)

Lawrence Weston is a large new housing estate in Bristol. The school is a comprehensive with about 1,000 pupils. When the new school buildings were being planned in 1959 the Headmaster was well aware of the lack of facilities for adults living on the estate. In particular there was no public library. The school decided that when the school library opened in 1962 it should make provision for adults as well as children attending the school. The successful outcome of this scheme led to the school becoming more aware of its role in the neighbourhood and a corresponding increase in awareness from parents. A full-time Activities Organiser was appointed whose job was to encourage and develop the use of the school for extra-curricula purposes for both children and parents. The range of activity (in 1967 when the evidence was collected) was enormous, covering at least 24 different enterprises ranging from pop-groups, through wine-making to Judo. Interrelationships among different generations on the estate have been greatly developed as a result, e.g. in the school choir are to be found a pupil, his parents and his grand-parents. Future plans include the development of a children's crèche which will allow the mothers of young children to pursue various courses at the school. The involvement of the school in the community appears to have had generally favourable effects on scholastic performance, e.g. over the last three years the number of children staying on at school after 15 has increased by 75 per cent. Moreover, allowing children under the age of 11 (the starting-age at the school) to use the library has eased the often crucial transition from primary to secondary school. This school is typical of the best attempts, and they are now fairly widespread, to integrate school and neighbourhood.

### b) The Educational Priority Area Scheme in Liverpool(13)

This was an altogether more ambitious project than Lawrence Weston as it was part of a governmentally sponsored project based upon the Plowden Report's recommendations to bring positive discrimination to "educationally deprived areas". Most of the features of the Lawrence Weston school experiment were present in Liverpool E.P.A. but given the locale (the central conurbation of an extremely economically depressed city) they were more difficult to implement, e.g. parents were traditionally uninvolved with the local schools and the schools themselves often lacked the facilities to develop along Lawrence Weston lines. However the Liverpool experiment was also *explicitly* more radical than Lawrence Weston because it concentrated overtly on the contentious issues of curriculum reform and attitudinal change within the teaching profession. To summarise the activities of Liverpool E.P.A. (so numerous were they) would be impossible given the space available. It would probably therefore be more appropriate to quote at length Dr. Halsey's summary of the conclusions of the Liverpool team.

> "The balance of the curriculum should change from 'academic' to 'social' and should be based on the realities of the immediate environment. ... Second, it would be appropriate for schools to increase the time devoted to creative pursuits in order to entertain and involve parents and community. ... Third, social environmental studies should concentrate on skills rather than on information. ... Fourth, teaching attitudes and the atmosphere of the school must change. E.P.A. community education presumes that the Educational Priority Area should be radically reformed and that the children should be 'forewarned and forearmed for the struggle'. This does not mean that the teacher should form a revolutionary cell in the classroom but that both teachers and children should develop a critical but tolerant attitude to a range of social instititions, ideas and aspirations. Beyond the long-term hope for a higher level of social participation, the community orientated curriculum has other advantages. It is likely that the children will do as well or better in traditional subjects because they will be linked to their own experience. In realising that education is about himself and his community just as much as about a more remote middle-class world the child will gain a sense of his worth and parents will more readily give their interest and support."

The E.P.A. experiment is, as far as I know, the only major statutory attempt to promote the idea of the "community school" specifically for those living in the inner-city in the United Kingdom. Its conclusions have had enormous impact within the United Kingdom and elsewhere. Some of these conclusions are extremely controversial and have been attacked by radicals and conservatives alike in their own prescriptions for alternative educational futures. There are many features of the programme I find disturbing and to which I will return in my conclusions.

c) The Case of Chris Searle, a former teacher in the East End of London(14)

Searle's case is presented here as being paradigmatic of what could happen if a teacher took one interpretation of the notion of "school-based community development" seriously, in a statutory context. Searle was impressed by the poetry being produced in class by his working-class students in a London secondary school. Most of the poems, some of which can be found in "This New Season", are a vivid exploration of the lives of children and young men and women living in working-class London. In collaboration with the writers of the poems and a local photographer whose pictures confirm the reality of the images of the poetry, Searle approached his headmaster for permission to publish the poems and photographs as an anthology entitled "Stepney Words". The headmaster agreed to the suggestion but said that the governing body of the school must be consulted. This was done. The governors rejected the idea of publication of the book on the grounds that the book was "unbalanced" and that the photographs and poems were too "drab". The anthologists decided to proceed with publication in spite of the governing body's decision. Within three days of publication of the poems Searle was dismissed from the school.

A number of points can be made about this incident which relate to the relevance of the school as a basis for community action or development. First, the content of the poetry, both literacy and social, was outstandingly good. Nowhere have I seen better illustration of Dr. Halsey's statement that children may do better in traditional subjects (in this case English) if those traditional subjects are related to the lives of the children. Second, the children's poetry is often highly intolerant of the social situation within which they find themselves and Searle obviously thinks they are right to be intolerant. This intolerance should be contrasted with Dr. Halsey's fourth point in the previous section. Third, generalising from Searle's own experience, extremely radical interpretations of school-based community development are likely to be attacked and defeated within conventional educational systems.

Fourth, this in turn raises fundamental issues about the control of, or participation in, the government of schools which are outside the scope of this paper. Fifth, the feelings expressed by the children are not specific to London or the United Kingdom. Compare the following:

a) "Dear Miss, ... You won't remember me or my name.
You have failed so many of us.
On the other hand I have often had thoughts about
you, and the other teachers, and about that institution which you call 'school' and about the boys that
you fail.
You fail us out into the fields and factories and
there you forget us."

and

b) "Teacher, teacher who are you
Sitting on that chair so tall
Do you really cane, cook, eat and digest people?
If so, your mind is wanted elsewhere."

The first extract is taken from "Letter to A Teacher"(15) written by boys from the community of Barbiana, Tuscany, in Italy. The second is from "This New Season". The first is written by rural children, the second by an urban child. Both express a marked antipathy to teachers and to school. In fact taking "Letter to a Teacher" and "This New Season" together, the similarities are more remarkable than the differences. One suspects that too much can be made of distinctions between children and their attitudes to school because they are from different ethnic backgrounds, or because they live in communities with different stages of economic development. At least among the poor, the underprivileged or the exploited, some attitudes are perhaps universal.

## Education and Social Change

We must now turn from description to analysis. The theories of community development and the educational experiments in the foregoing sections of this paper raise issues which transcend national boundaries and which relate to advanced industrial societies generally.

Most professions have a vested interest in making extravagant claims for their own existence. This is not peculiar to those engaged in education, whether as teachers, administrators, or researchers, but it will be argued that there are particular reasons why the educationalist is more prone to see his operation as having universal significance. Common sense would indicate that there is a causal relationship between education and social mobility. Thus the search of societies for "equality of opportunity" inevitably puts a heavy burden on educational systems; the more equal the educational system, the more equal society: or, alternatively, equality of educational opportunity is a pre-requisite for equality of opportunity. However, common sense may be inadequate or even wrong. Although it is a truism that most socially mobile (upwards) people are "educated" it need not necessarily be the case that education *causes* social mobility. In fact the evidence may not substantiate common sense. Social mobility, after allowing for the increase in the tertiary sector of the economy, may hardly have changed in advanced industrial societies during this century despite massive efforts to promote educational equality of opportunity. Obviously it could be argued that these efforts have often been misguided failures even if well-intentioned; e.g. the 1944 Education Act in the United Kingdom promoted a system of educational opportunity which, albeit unwittingly, developed the interests of middle as opposed to working-class children and therefore failed in its intentions. I would agree with this. But I am hopefully not being inconsistent in arguing that *even were equality of educational opportunity achieved* it would have relatively little effect on social mobility. The evidence, and this is understating the case, is scant, but one suspects that social mobility has, and will continue to have, more to do with parental accumulation of capital, or mere chance, e.g. access to a junior position in a rapidly expanding industrial corporation, than to education as such. Probably it is much more the case that inequality of opportunity in class and status terms determines educational opportunity rather than vice versa.

In short, when one considers community schooling, or any other form of schooling, we should perhaps not expect too much from it in terms of social change. The educational theorist is too often prone to make exaggerated claims for alterations in the educational system because these claims can be backed by (probably spurious) arguments related to significant alterations in the structure of society.

However the more sophisticated exponents of community schooling may well argue that they are not defining social change in terms of social mobility. Certainly E.P.A. theorists are explicit that they are *not*.

> "Eventually an E.P.A. community *must stand on its own feet like any other and rejuvenate its world*, and that is a dogma which might hold good on both political wings, for the right-wing in English politics has its commitments to local autonomy and self-help, just as the left-wing is devoted to the pursuit of social justice"(16).

This philosophy is concerned with *community* mobility rather than individual mobility. Deprived communities in seeking social change should act in their own interests to resolve their own problems. The school is seen, not as the whole answer, but as a focal point for community regeneration. But the idea that a poor community can "rejuvenate its world" is profoundly ambivalent. Some communities may exist [as the radical community development theorist of model (c) would argue], at the expense of other communities. The language of "community" itself may lead to the defining of social change in extremely low-key terms, i.e. in the attainment of "pram-parks", crèches, football pitches, etc. for the underprivileged whilst major structural change in social stratification and status will go by default because it does not fit easily within the conceptual framework of "community action".

The E.P.A. experiment achieved significant progress in some relatively minor areas of social reform; perhaps that was all it could achieve given the resources and time for its implementation. However, its philosophy has long-term implications some of which are arguably negative. It advocates much closer co-operation between employers and children at school. But the reality of economic opportunity in the Liverpool E.P.A. flies in the face of such co-operation. A significant proportion of the adult population is either unemployed or is employed in the most menial and degrading of manual occupations. What would the children learn from such contacts other than that this is the economic reality which they can expect? If they are encouraged to accept their prescribed futures in occupational terms then educationalists are conspiring in a fairly vicious exercise in social engineering. If, alternatively, they are encouraged to analyse the economic structure underlying their occupational prospects, how long will "fruitful" collaboration with employers last, or how long will the teacher (viz. Searle's case above) remain in employment? These are very real dilemmas for those who are genuinely concerned to relate education, in a statutory or other large-scale institutional context (e.g. the churches), with social change. Tolerance(17) has not usually been the handmaiden of social change.

## The Resource Issue

It is quite clear that budgetary decisions in societies where there exist underprivileged communities still discriminate, certainly in education, against such areas. Two British sociologists(18) have recently argued that most of the debate in British educational circles about poor attainment has concentrated over-much on fairly conventional cultural explanations e.g. the misuse of Bernstein's concept of "The Restricted Code" to explain poor school performance. They argue convincingly that wider attainment remains significantly a consequence of discriminatory resource allocation. If they are correct then much of the argument about alternative educational formats to create more "achievers" becomes irrelevant. If as much is spent on the low achievers as on the high then the gap between the former and latter will narrow to a point of relative insignificance. Moreover if the resource issue is fundamental then debates about alternative school systems will have to concentrate much more on the pedagogical implications of different theories about the role of the school. Resource reallocation on a scale which would really make a difference would profoundly affect educational opportunity and would also affect elites within society, and they may retaliate. Cultural explanations have the double-edged advantage of clouding the main issue (if Byrne and Williamson are right) and of creating a new professionalism with its own highly sophisticated expertise, a solution which benefits the educationalist at the expense of the badly educated.

## Conservative Critics of Socially Oriented Education

As well as those who have attacked schemes like "priority" in the United Kingdom on the grounds that they avoid issues of resource allocation, there have also been those who question the pedagogical assumptions underlying "community education". My own critique of these assumptions is given below, but other critics, often regarded as irrelevantly reactionary (wrongly in my opinion), have made some telling points. The traditional concern of educationalists with cognitive development has led to an onslought on the trendily progressive which, by inference at least, can be seen as an attack on the community school. Prof. Bantock's cogent analysis of "discovery methods" in progressive education(19) is an excellent example of this opposition to the fashionable and, as far as I know, it has not been systematically countered by his critics. Some of Bantock's pre-occupations are similar to my own and I will not restate them here. However Bantock also asserts, in a less qualified way than perhaps ought to be the case, that "the notion of informality and that of the school do not finally mix. It is precisely the purpose in setting up such separate and expensive institutions to enable learning to take place that they shall introduce coherence and order where none previously existed." Certainly this is antithetical to the whole notion of the community school whose purpose, to paraphrase Dr. Midwinter, is to make it difficult to detect precisely where the demarcation of the school from the community begins and ends. How separated the school should be from the neighbourhood in which it is situated remains an open question. We have little evidence on which to base policy decisions for or against the 'open' school in terms of either cognitive or affective development; and Professor Bantock's extreme statement of the case for a "closed" school concerned with little else than structured learning of the 'traditional disciplines' ought to be taken seriously. More resources and more imagination in teaching methods conjoined to the traditional purposes of education may be a preferable option to community schooling.

Bantock ends his article by quoting Jacques Barzun, "The notion of helping a child has in the United States displaced that of teaching him ... The truth is that even apart from its hostility to Intellect, systematic coddling is as dangerous as it is impertinent"(20). This statement raises quite other issues. The whole notion of community development, and its educational equivalents, does have a presumptuousness which is ethically questionable. To assert, as a teacher, that I know more about X than you (the student) can be a simple statement of the truth. To assert that I can help you 'to develop' as an individual or as a community is a statement of a completely different kind. It is based upon the hidden premise that there is a ladder of humanity and that I am on a higher rung of that ladder towards which I will help you to climb. In teaching, the conventional teacher-learner relationship is arguably more dignified and appropriate than a 'doctor-client' relationship. Similarly in neighbourhood politics the traditional role of the concerned intelligentsia as fellows in a common cause (the elimination of poverty, oppression etc.) with those living in the neighbourhood has more to recommend it than the new 'helping' profession of community development.

## The Pedagogy of "Relevance"

With the exception of the Lawrence Weston School the experiments which I have briefly described place a considerable emphasis on either abandoning traditional disciplines altogether or on teaching them through an approach which is "relevant" to the children of a given locality. What are the implications of this for learning? In an absolute sense any discussion of "relevant education" founders on tautology. "Relevance" is what the teacher or preferably the student defines as being relevant. If social change is not to be the primary objective of the school then the binomial theorem may be more relevant than investigations of the social environment of the child, i.e. if the child finds the binomial theorem more interesting than his environment. If "relevance" is not to become yet another addition to the fashions of educational theory then its proponents have to be explicit in defining for whom and for what it is appropriate.

Even if one accepts that education should be more socially relevant than hitherto one is still confronted with problems of an almost epistemological complexity. The idea that one can investigate one's immediate environment with a view to changing it depends upon what one means by investigation. Some theorists of a socially relevant education often write as if they envisage an almost mystical union between the learner and the object of his learning: "look at the supermarket and you will understand the supermarket" they seem to be saying. But "knowing" or "understanding" depends on categorisation, classification and *theory*. One does not learn about an object merely by being confronted with it. Man's greatest conceptual edifice is arguably those theories which explain the world in natural scientific terms. The point is that they *are* theories, they are not mere *seeing* or confrontation with objects. What seems to be missing from those theories which propose "socially relevant education" are detailed arguments about the theoretical basis for looking at the environment of the child. Searle is at least quite explicit about what that basis should be. He would see the world as essentially divided into the exploited and the exploiters. This may be simplistic, it may even be "wrong", but it does lead to learning of a systematic kind. Evidence for a thoroughly worked out theory of relevance in the E.P.A. context is difficult to find. It seems to be assumed that we all know, and agree about, what the problems are. I suspect that we do not.

There are, it seems to me, only two plausible approaches to the problem of social relevance in an educational context. The first is for the school to commit itself quite overtly to social goals whether broadly and radically defined, or more narrowly conceived e.g. assisting the aged within the neighbourhood. The second is to subordinate social relevance to the more traditional concerns of the school as ideally defined. Israel Scheffler(21) has summarised this argument most eloquently:

> " ... schools may be conceived as social instruments only in the broad sense in which they also facilitate independent education of social practice, only if they are, in effect, conceived as instruments of insight and criticism, standing apart from current social conceptions and serving autonomous ideals of inquiry and truth."

A logical inference of Scheffler's argument would be that "community schooling" itself must be seen as a legitimate target for inquiry *within the school*, otherwise it becomes dangerous social engineering. Moreover "insight and criticism" depend upon a concern with scientific understanding, broadly conceived. It is imperative that school involvement in community should not become superficial confrontation with immediate reality. Superficial understanding can only lead to superficial change.

There are also dangers of an entirely practical kind in the development of "society relevant curricula". As E.P.A. theorists themselves have recognised, what happens in the school ultimately depends upon the teachers. Teachers may well see the community school as an easy option, as a way of making school "tolerable". Seeing the local sights and writing occasional essays about them can easily become a substitute for an "unremitting investigation of the social environment"(22). Nothing could be more disastrous as it would create neither effective learning nor social change.

To summarise: the case for a socially relevant school has not yet been proven. Experiments of an E.P.A. kind should continue but they should not take it as a datum that children necessarily learn more by relating learning to their social environment. As Dr. Halsey has himself indicated it is much too early to come to any hard conclusions on the evidence available.

## Conclusion

I must now very briefly return to my "ideal-types" of community development and relate them to educational theory and practice. The universal model (a) is seen as having few implications for education. There are those who argue that the level of inter-personal skills among all sections of the population is low because of the anomie referred to earlier. They may advocate curriculum alterations towards the teaching of "small-group theory" or social dynamics as a way of making the school useful in resolving such problems. I am not qualified to comment on the efficacy of such techniques but hardly see them as relevant to resolving major socio-economic problems.

The mainstream model (b) clearly relates closely to E.P.A. and the Lawrence Weston School. I see nothing problematic about the use of school resources to provide for neighbourhoods without such amenities. They should be so used. However it is relevant to ask why these amenities have not been provided, as they have in other areas, outside of the school. Unless one is convinced by the mystique of "community" and particularly of "school-centred community" (which I am not), there seems to be no reason, other than economic expediency, for using schools as community resources. Again (there is little evidence one way or the other) it may be that intensive use of school capital by non-school personnel is detrimental to school performance (however defined).

I confess to sharing the radical alternative's /model (c)7 disquiet about the co-optative and diversionary elements within mainstream community development, and would be disturbed if statutory education defined the role of certain schools as relating to such exercises in an uncritical way. The intolerance of Searle, of the children with whom he worked and of the children of Barbiana, seems to me to be more conducive (although my evidence is equally thin) to radical social change than the consensual strategies of either mainstream community development or E.P.A. It may be that Searle's case merely confirms that social change must presage fundamental educational change, given that he himself did not succeed: and the children of Barbiana are clearly a very exceptional case in Italy.

Finally, a brief return to social relevance as a pedagogical theory. I have no doubt that social relevance has a place within the school curriculum but it should not of itself be seen as even the beginning of a sufficient condition for significant social change. (Education's)...

> "primary task is not to be relevant but to help form a society in which its ideals of free inquiry and rationality shall themselves have become chief touchstones of relevance"(23).

But "helping to form a society" is not "forming a society" and Scheffler's statement infers a degree of social change, using quite other than educational means, which would necessitate the abandonment of the dominant norms and structures of contemporary industrial societies.

# REFERENCES

1. See P. Hindess "*The Decline of Working Class Politics*" (London 1971) for a discussion of the reasons for this decline.

2. This is not to deny that the costs to sugar-refining workers may not be more than offset by benefits to beet farmers in France, and to consumers generally. However that is a complex economic argument which cannot be pursued here.

3. The closure of a factory in one area would reduce income, for a population of 13,000, by rather more than £1 m. per annum, which is 10 times the total Community Development Project's annual budget.

4. See Marris & Rein "*Dilemmas of Social Reform*" (1969) for a lengthier discussion and empirical evidence.

5. Dewey J. "*My Pedagogic Creed*" - reprinted 1929.

6. Dewey J. "*Democracy and Education*". 1928

7. The author apologises for the heavy emphasis on American and British experience throughout this paper. This is unfortunately unavoidable given lack of data on other experiments.

8. See V.G. Cicivelli et al., "The impact of Head Start on children's cognitive and affective development". Westinghouse Learning Corporation, Washington D.C., 1969 (Mimeo).

9. B. Bernstein "Compensatory Education" in "*Education for Democracy*", ed. Rubinstein & Coleman (Penguin 1970).

10. O.D. Duncan "Inheritance of Poverty or Inheritance of Race" in D. Moynihan (ed.) "*On Understanding Poverty*".

11. In the face of masses of data from other countries I have decided to concentrate exclusively on the United Kingdom in this section. Practical accounts of similar experiments elsewhere abound but I have found it difficult to place them *analytically* because of my ignorance of the social context within which they took place.

12. See Patrick McGeeney "The Involvement of Parents" in Croft, Raynor, and Cohen (ed.) *Linking Home and School*.

13. See A.H. Halsey, *Educational Priority EPA Problems and Policies*, (HMSO 1972) and also E. Midwinter "*priority*" (Penguin 1972).

14. See C. Searle "*This New Season*". Calder 1973.

15. The School of Barbiana "*Letter to A Teacher*", Penguin Education Special 1970.

16. Dr. E. Midwinter "Priority Education". (My emphasis.)

17. See Dr. Halsey's fourth point.

18. See Byrne and Williamson "The Myth of the Restricted Code", Durham University, occasional papers in Sociology.

19. G.H. Bantock "Discovering Methods" in "Black Paper 2".

20. My emphasis.

21. Israel Scheffler, "Reason and Teaching", (London 1973).

22. See Midwinter op.cit.

23. See Scheffler op.cit.

## 2. THE USE OF COMMUNITY RESOURCES BY THE SCHOOL

Secretariat, CERI

"Everything and every person in the world is a learning resource", writes Everett Reimer. Well and good, it may even be so, although it would be nice to have a compendium outlining the how of the utilisation. Meanwhile, Reimer's statement is useful, since it allows at least a grasp of the totality of the subject. It also gives fair warning, albeit implicitly, that our field of enquiry is littered with true believers.

Theology need not be susceptible to evidence. Nevertheless, in the subject under discussion, what evidence there is suggests that there are a number of ambiguities surrounding the questions of why community resources should be used for educational purposes in the first place, and what is likely to happen if they are. Indeed the remarkable fact may well be that there is so little: little evidence as to whether or not the perceived benefits accrue and, in fact, little precise articulation of what these benefits are meant to be. Furthermore there is little detailed analysis done in the area of trade-off's, i.e. what is lost or given away in relation to what is gained.

It is the purpose of this paper to contribute somewhat to the opening-up of these questions. It is furthermore the paper's underlying conviction that especially at a time when several of the slogans of community schooling - particularly those advocating use of nearby resources - are finding their way not only daily into print but into practice and policy as well, some further questions are very much in need of being raised.

The central doubt to be aired is that 'community' as such too easily is a limiting rather than an expansive concept. Whether defined in its broader sense, i.e. accessible environment, or in the more narrow sense approximating neighbourhood, excessive dependence upon community can easily be at the price of accessibility to the larger community. The total culture, the students' place in it and therefore even his possibility to move in it are too easily lost.

Examples to illustrate this doubt are not difficult to find, and none perhaps is more apt than Eric Midwinter, the driving force behind much of the well-publicised Liverpool Educational Priority Area projects in the United Kingdom. It may be unfair to criticise by use of the opponent's excesses, but the following excerpt is nonetheless illuminating:

> Often, it would appear, the curriculum is irrelevant to the community, its children and both their needs ... Methods have changed but not, in the same proportion, content ... Often Richard Lionheart will now be 'done', not by chalk and talk, but in project form, with booklets, ribbons and, if an article falls conveniently, a scissored assault on the colour supplements. But it's still Richard Lionheart - and, given only a short time in school and dreadful problems to face, is it strictly useful to know about a homosexual, absentee feudal monarch?
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> "I recall making much the same point to a group of [student teachers] about geography, a discipline which sometimes seems to attract more and more attention to items as they grow less and less meaningful. The Eskimoes were the case at hand; not only were they remote from the child's experience, many of them now, far from living, blubber-bound, in igloos, wear suits and man American bases. One of the students went into a school next day and the teacher said: 'you can do the Eskimoes: I've been saving them all year, because I know students like to do them'."(1)

Although Mr. Midwinter's less than perfect knowledge of the realities of the Canadian north is pardonable, his ignorance of elementary school children is somewhat more curious. They do like "to do Eskimoes" as most teachers of the relevant age-group and indeed most one-time elementary school pupils with long memories can attest. More serious, however, is the assumption that somehow this is wrong and the underlying suggestion that somehow there are justifiable grounds for denying access to Eskimoes, as to kings.

Of course study of the realities on a school's doorstep does not in itself preclude study of Eskimoes. Furthermore Mr. Midwinter is probably correct in his implicit statement that too often the separation of curriculum world and real world is made too distinct and too unbridgeable. But the line of thinking that follows can be applied in reverse too: in fact the study of an absentee feudal landlord is not irrelevant to a study of multi-national corporations and a study of what constitutes sexual deviance in a given age is not irrelevant to a study of contemporary morality and an individual's exploration of it. If Reimer is right and every person in the world is a learning resource, Richard the Lionheart will do as well as any other.

Questions of cultural inequality cannot be begged either. We live in a world where some children will learn about their culture (which includes their kings) and their total world (which includes Eskimoes). With luck and good teaching they may be guided to discover their place in both. This is the present birthright of perhaps a tiny minority; it is arguable that a job for the school is to increase the size of this minority, i.e. to broaden the base that has such access. Those who believe that this is a rightful function of schooling cannot help but notice that many of the more extreme 'relevance' arguments are applied in areas that are deprived in precisely this sense.

Related questions can be raised about use of nearby physical resources. What of the poor neighbourhood with no resources? We speak for the moment of material resources; we can find easily enough neighbourhoods in which such resources are evidently lacking. In such cases, popular wisdom states that children be taken elsewhere to obtain the resources, to have access to them. It is worth noting that a possible alternative solution, i.e. taking the resources - parks, libraries, swimming pools - to the children, is thereby perhaps being neatly avoided. No in the short run and not in all cases: clearly London (like coal) cannot be taken to Newcastle, whereas Newcastle children can be taken to London. But in many cases the suspicion seems well-founded.

One common way to avoid this question is somehow to assume that in some mystical sense (*pace* Reimer) all neighbourhoods are rich, in cultural terms at least, or potentially at least. A community is what you see in it, perhaps its resources are what you see in it - but the question than is, who is to do the seeing?

In straightforward factual terms, teachers possibly can't or don't know as much about a child's neighbourhood as the child does. This is the less important gap as it can presumably be overcome. More important is the fact that the people, institutions, and facilities in a school's environment cannot be described as existing *per se* and therefore accessible on the same terms to all who regard them. Rather they will be perceived, each time, in a locus of class and status particular to that carried by the perceiver. Quite probably the perceptions people in a given locality have of other people in a locality are not those carried by teachers. Locally, a doctor may be granted authority and importance because of the social function ascribed to him, because of his role of father confessor, leader, problem solver: authority as far as the teacher is concerned may be based principally on scientific prowess. Perceptions of institutions will also vary enormously, e.g. is the local factory the neighbourhood exploiter or the place that gives work?

This tension resulting from the way the hierarchy of the school will adopt something or someone as a resource and the way in which the people in that locality already think of those resources will nearly always be in existence. A specific problem therefore is not only recognition of that tension but developing means to overcome and/or utilise it.

A tempting way out of this conundrum is to make the plea to teachers and educators to define community or neighbourhood in the way the community itself would define it. The child's notion of relevance, in other words, is the only one that counts. But that does seem somewhat self-limiting from the outset.

The subject then is not straightforwardly nuts-and-bolts, apolitical, and of practical interest only; it is after all a complicated one. The use of community resources by the school is political first to the extent that it carries with it the primary question of resource allocation, secondly to the extent that there may well be irreconciliable class differences when it comes to pre-use definition. Overall, the objective of such use must be seen in context of the point that either schooling broadens horizons or it doesn't. If it is too closely tied to an immediate environment or if it is anything but skilfully led, it almost certainly doesn't. The fundamental issue is the aims of education; here, as elsewhere, it is dangerous to act solely in the light of the immediate interests of the individual.

In considering the use of community resources by the school we are concerned with a wide range of activities. At the one end there is the fairly simple matter of the "fieldtrip", i.e. groups of students leaving the school for a short and specific purpose, whether visiting a zoo to see animals or undertaking a social survey on the housing needs of the nearby populace. At the other end of our spectrum there are the schools, especially in the United States, that have been organised around this principle, i.e. the "schools without walls" in which there is no central school building as such but rather resources in the community - banks, offices, museums, etc. - become the classrooms, their regular occupants the teachers, and the teachers themselves co-ordinators of the activities in question. In between can be found several activities, many of them part of the standard repertoire of good teachers and good schools for years, going on successfully, unsung and even unnoticed.

Basically we are concerned with the cult that has developed around these activities. It is in this context that concern must also be expressed with the results of the utilisation, intended and otherwise, and the effects of the procedures on all the parties concerned. As a logical enough starting point it is also interesting to deal with questions of why such procedures are adopted in the first place, in other words with the reasons, vague though they may be, advanced by proponents of the cause.

One argument with undeniable appeal is economic, i.e. that money can be saved or at least used more efficiently if resources are used jointly. From the point of view of the taxpayer, it is an argument that can be applied indiscriminately, whether to pubicly owned resources (e.g. the school building itself) or to privately owned ones (e.g. using the bank's computer saves having to purchase one from public funds for the school). It does of course seem that one swimming pool or one library used around the clock by different sections of the community represents a saving of money over three such facilities used eight hours each. Regrettably there is little hard evidence that this is so; indeed here as elsewhere we run into the fact that there is little evidence either way. If we are speaking of joint use of facilities there is some evidence (in the sense at least of well-documented tradition) that increased specialist staff will probably be needed (specialists in youth reading, specialists in adult reading) and that this in turn will generate more staff to supervise it. Common sense also suggests that the facilities will have to be of high quality at the outset.

Does a law of diminishing returns also operate in the case of community use of school equipment, e.g. the elementary or domestic sciences? At some point increased wear and tear, increased maintenance costs, and increased loss of teacher time spent sorting and tidying possibly begin to have negative economic consequences. A similar effect may undermine school use of community resources. There seems as yet no way to measure the extent or degree of dislocation caused to the recipient agency when students are regularly visiting, e.g. a supermarket to learn the rudiments of counting or money changing. Mostly it is the successful examples that find their way into print, but surely there must be cases where the bank, the supermarket, the home for old age pensioners decided it just wasn't worth the bother.

It is of significance too that no matter which way the traffic runs, there will be consequences; furthermore, they will have little to do with economics. Reading in a library surrounded by adults has consequences for learning as does using scientific paraphernalia side by side with adults. It is usually assumed that these effects are positive, especially in the realms of socio-personal development, but in fact no one knows what they are. Unfortunately no research has yet been undertaken with controlled groups of children who have or have not had to suffer or profit from adults using their equipment, or by entering at an early age but in a superfluous category the physical surroundings of the adult wage-seeker.

There is as well a series of quasi-pedagogical arguments in favour of making use of community resources which generally lean on or produce slogans of the learning-by-doing and reality-is-outside-the-school variety. Particularly the latter is too easily accepted. A case can be made that there isn't much apparent reality outside the school either: that large holes appear in the ground, larger buildings appear in their place, carpenters have given way to diminished men wearing yellow helmets in the company of monstrously disproportionate cranes, and it is in fact fairly hard to observe anywhere a direct connection between what someone does and the results or consequences of that action.

Here indeed it is plausible that it is a task for the school to indicate or construct what reality there may be underlying so much disjointed and seemingly disconnected activity, and furthermore do so in a relatively calm and isolated manner. In fact a further counter suggestion can be offered that cuts to the root of many of the arguments in question: even if children, or adults, do learn more in programmes involving combinations of school and surroundings, they might prefer to learn less, in solitude.

Some of the generally social arguments advanced in aid of school use of community resources, specifically those having to do with community regeneration, are discussed more thoroughly in another paper of this collection (Ashcroft). From our point of view it seems necessary only to borrow a phrase from Ian Lister and point out that society perhaps does not want to be "regenerated by school-children", and to add the further fact that very possibly school-children are not competent to the task in any event. Being interviewed as part of a high school survey by a sixteen-year-old does not necessarily make a mother of eight feel any better, not does it in most cases do anything to ease her immediate physical needs, like adequate housing. Arguably it is the delusion function at work once again, drawing attention away from urgent questions of overall resource allocation and national social policy.

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Reference has been made earlier to the field trip, a normal enough supplementary activity that has been part of standard repertoire of many schools and teachers for many years. The purpose of the visit to the outside world can be a fairly generalised one, i.e. to provide some variety from what is otherwise a daily routine of classrooms and desks. Or the purpose may be to supplement a particular element of the curriculum, to "enrich" it in a general or particular way. There are difficulties inherent in the practice: that of investing the expedition with a purpose other than just an "outing"; that of allowing the students the possibility of an experience deeper than that of a guided tour or a glance; that of integrating, i.e. once back in the classroom, following-up in any worthwhile way.

Regarding the former, it must quickly be stated that "just an outing", i.e. a pleasant experience in the company of teacher and peers, may be extremely worthwhile in itself. (There may equally well be value in letting the student do what he wants to do, in giving him the time without the organised expedition to fill it). A similar reflection holds true for the second point above, in that knowledge is often based on flashes of experience and need not - indeed cannot - be provided by an outside source anyway.

At least one example can be found of a school where the field-trip was elevated to a purposefully educational experience. Main Street School in Toronto, Canada, was established on an experimental basis in the mid-1960s for secondary level immigrant students before they entered the regular school system. Its basic task was to teach English as a second language but as it was based on a philosophy that knowledge of a language follows language of a culture, it used as its methodology the teaching of the culture, or at least the exposing the students to manifestations of the culture such as parks, stores, buses, etc. Thus a small group of students accompanied by a teacher would visit a bank with a two-fold purpose: to learn how to cope with a bank and to learn the relevant vocabulary. Even seemingly social events had a clearly defined purpose, e.g. a trip to spend a few hours skating on the ice rink in front of the City Hall would provide opportunities not only for interpersonal relationships to grow, and English-language conversations to be held, but also for both public transportation systems and a fairly typical winter sport to be mastered.

One of the more interesting aspects of the Main Street experience was the views of the students involved in the programme. Interviewed as part of a study conducted by the Toronto Board of Education Research Department in 1969, they were quite implicit as to their own objectives and the means to reach them:

> "... their own assessment, while hard to grasp, jarred the assumptions of their entire programme. There was only one issue - language, regardless of any philosophical positions their Canadian educators might have," [the report] concluded... [and] the verdict was clear: "In fact, the implication of some of the students' statements might be that they have a different philosophy: one of learning the language, which they identify a as vocabulary and pronunciation, as efficiently as possible, and letting cultural integration follow that".(2)

There is little evidence as to whether or not English language conversations were in fact held during these trips, although it is easy to suspect that the students may have preferred to use the resources at hand for their conversations, namely whatever non-English mother tongue they might hold in common. Assuming English-language conversations were held, however, it is interesting to speculate on the mechanisms involved, e.g. whether English-speaking students accompanied the immigrants or whether the latter were expected to make the language contacts spontaneously? (in fact, the second, with a certain amount of spontaneous help from the accompanying teacher). Such speculation quickly reveals the difficulties inherent in another aspect of the overall subject: the necessary relationships between ends, mechanics, and means.

In the Main Street case both objective and method were clear enough, but it seems fair to assume that there was no carefully designed relationship between the two, i.e. of ends to means. To the extent that the mechanics are unclear, a central element in any definition of how the carefully-planned field trip can be made purposeful is thus missing. The only pedagogies that spring to mind where the ends/mechanics/means relationship are delineated, rather than only ends/means, are those of Paolo Freire and Sylvia Ashton-Warner. Both, incidentally, make use of large doses of relevance in all three elements but carefully spell out why, how, and when.

Another too frequent pitfall is that of the educational experience with no objective. An illustration can be found again in Toronto, in a secondary school level experiment called SEED (Shared Experience, Exploration and Discovery). Operating as an alternative within the school system, SEED espoused the principle that the learning experience has to be an active one if it is to be of any benefit, and its students, following no carefully defined curricula, went out into the community to be trained or educated by a wide variety of the resources to be found there, mostly people. Much time was also spent on on-going self evaluation, of a largely non-scientific nature, about whether the programme was achieving what it was meant to. Here the central dilemma was well expressed by one of the students: "How can you have an objective for a dream"?

He deserves to be, and is, quoted with sympathy. Indeed, how can you? - but the hard realities must intrude. An educator must have objectives, in order to define ways to reach them if nothing else. And the fact that our subject is somewhat notable for its lack of objective not only poses difficulties for examination of it; the implication is also there that much fruitless and probably dangerous activity is being carried out in its name. There is not only difficulty in describing the component parts of utilisation of community resources by the school, there is also difficulty in saying why they are being assembled in the first place.

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Writing in the Urban Review,(3) Ken Worpole presents a good case for the intelligent use of community resources. Giving examples from the teaching of History and English, which is in itself somewhat unusual, he describes use of local resources as a means to enable the student to place himself and his society in place and time, and thus a means for the school to participate in the creation of common culture. The community is not the sole focus of study but rather the introduction to something larger. It is useful to quote from him at length.

> "Who are the children we teach? Where do they come from? In nineteenth-century textbooks they were referred to, most directly, as belonging to 'the inferior ranks of society', or, more simply, 'other human creatures'. Today, many history textbooks still share Carlyle's assumption that 'the history of the world is but the biography of great men' in which the majority of the population are rendered invisible and the whole weight of the historical process is loaded onto a few shoulders, usually those of the kings and queens and people like Sir Francis Drake. As a consequence, the children in the classroom have nowhere to recognise themselves and their parents, and the teacher has no way of recognising the children. The basic assumption of most history teaching - and this assumption permeates the whole school - is that the children themselves are historical, perhaps like mushrooms that are supposed to appear and disappear without leaving a trace...(4)
>
> "Alternatively, one can assume that children are to be rescued from their benighted past, a process that has been going on since the Elementary Education Act of 1940 (in England)....In practice most children drop the subject, or leave, before they begin to study the post-industrial revolution period, which for them is very much the historical culture within which they and their families were formed. Schools thus bear a heavy responsibility for assisting in creating, in Adorno's terrifying description, 'the spectre of mankind without memory ....' And if the school refuses to acknowledge the history of the community within which it is set, then it is implying to the children within it that their lives are accidental, that they have come from nowhere and have, ultimately, nowhere to go."

He advocates an approach to the teaching of history that begins with community and uses this original focus creatively. He cites a course given by the Workers' Educational Association in Hackney for ten years, which collects on tape the reminiscences of elderly people in the borough in order to build up a collective picture of the past, i.e. to create a collective autobiography.

> "... Local people have 're-told' their lives, have 'made sense of the sense history has made of them', to borrow Sartre's compelling description...
>
> "The local autobiography offers the children and ourselves a 'mediation' between the determinations within the historical

> process and the individual and collective struggle for autonomy and self-realisation."

Citing many other autobiographical sources, taped and written, Worpole then cautions that they be used sensibly as models of the kind of original research that can be done by schools.

> "The use of such an approach to history ... can reconnect the generations so that there is once again a realisation of a shared situation, of common experiences, of the 'historical sense' ... can confirm [to students] that the 'ordinary life' does possess a significance not attributed to it by the distorting of bourgeois history.
>
> "To talk, though, of building a new 'working class' culture and replacing 'bourgeois cult[illegible] is as nonsensical as making the community an exclusive focus in other kinds of study. The new culture that needs building, and in which process schools could become a very important force, is one which integrates much of the old with the best of the new, and potentially vast, cultural forms that are becoming available to us. We should perhaps talk about the possibilities for a 'common culture' ...
>
> "All subjects in schools could be made to practically benefit the wider community and in fact in many schools this is happening: older pupils (unfortunately, though, in most cases those considered 'unacademic') practically help the older people in the community; science lessons sometimes now involve the practical study of the local environment - testing pollution, making suggestions for alternative planning schemes; secondary children go into primary schools and play groups to work with younger children. All these are steps in the right direction, even though many of them are undertaken for quite the wrong reasons and only involve a particular proportion of the children. But the model is there, and it is our job to assist this development critically ..."

We have in this paper largely been concerned with the "wrong ideas". Still, Worpole, if only by having worked out a means-mechanics-ends relationship, gives encouragement.

Meanwhile it is perhaps possible to advance some other interim conclusions. Basically they have to do with reconsideration of the traditional functions of schooling, allocation of responsibilities between schooling and aspects of the environment, and a plea not to toss out all thought of the former in a pell-mell rush into the arms of the nearest community resource.

The school's possible role as the provider of reality, mentioned earlier, is open to debate. Certainly, however, it does have a role to play in the structuring of experience, especially those experiences outside the school that it may encourage its students to have, e.g. the neighbourhood survey, the voluntary social service undertaking, the visit to a factory or plant. It is moreover unarguable that the very special knowledge and expertise needed on the part of the teacher to assist in this giving of structure and hence meaning to community-based experience is for the most part sorely lacking. It is not only a matter of few teachers knowing enough about either industrial production techniques or the workings of an economic system of their area to be able to give much meaning to a visit to a local factory - presumably, as stated, the information deficiencies can be overcome. It is rather a matter that there is still a long way to go before the pedagogy for ordering random experiences is created, outside of that provided by regular disciplines. There is not the standard criticism of teachers who are often spoken of as being somehow not a part of "life"; it is rather a suggestion that realities of a different sort be faced.

Secondly, there is the matter of the strength derived by the school precisely because it is somewhat separate from the daily pressures and vicissitudes of its environment. Mr. Worpole will pardon us if we draw upon bourgeois history to provide the obvious example of places of learning as maintainers and perpetuators of culture during the Middle Ages. And, particular to our own time and place, it is entirely plausible that a child will wish to retreat into his school building precisely because it can be kept separate from other aspects of his life, can even protect him. At no cost should the world of Eskimoes and kings be taken from him: ideally that choice is his to make.

Finally, if it can be accepted that schools as they exist do fulfill some potentially valuable functions, indeed fulfill them better than any other institution, a good place to begin the subject of use of community resources may well be from the point of view of sharing of responsibility. This includes defining what those resources are in the first place. The family is fashionably described as an educational resource in many circles, but it seems rather pointless to do so unless certain deliberate functions are made a part of the description. The same holds true for the man down the street who repairs bicycles or the studio up the street in which the television news is announced. They are there, but before they can be considered seriously as educational resources, questions of how and for what purposes must be both posed and answered.

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# 3. THE IMPLICATIONS OF ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS FOR THE PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM:

## THE END OF THE FORMAL INSTITUTION?

by

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The selection of this topic for an international conference on "The School and the Community" reflects concern over the significance of the particular form of "deinstitutionalisation" represented by the wide variety of small "alternative" schools springing up across the United States and other Member countries. In some forms "alternative schools" represent the ultimate breakdown in school-community relations: a segment of the community so alienated from the school, or so powerless to regulate its impact on their children that they form their own school despite financial and legal barriers of major proportions. The "freedom schools" for southern United States black children in the mid-sixties are the purest example. In other forms alternative schools represent distinct departures from the programmes available in the usual public school system, and yet are run in co-operation with the public system for sub-populations with special needs. As with each new trend in education, there are those who regard alternative schools as a panacea and advocate their general promotion and adoption. Yet the thoroughgoing implementation of the notion that every special sub-population was entitled to its own form of schooling would indeed bring about "the end of the formal institution". Professionals in public education are right to be concerned about its possible impact. What are the implications of this movement, and how should those involved in educational policy formulation respond?

### What is an Alternative School?

Several people have suggested various typologies that distinguish among alternative schools on the basis of: stated purposes, origin, relationship to surrounding community, nature of the student body, instructional pattern, organisational pattern, and degree of student choice.(1) The popular names: open-concept schools, free schools, "schools-without-walls", and special schools for special populations such as ethnic schools, street academies, dropout centres, special education centres, and pregnancy-maternity centres are equally useful.

## Commonalities Among Alternatives

Most of the schools and programmes that are classed within the rubric "alternative schools" have certain things in common:(2)

- They are usually (and increasingly) committed to respond to some unmet needs of a particular student subgroup;
- They are usually committed to developing a more reinforcing and interactive relationship to the community within which the school is located and the students live;
- They are usually committed to learning goals and objectives other than (or in addition to) cognitive knowledge;
- They are usually considerably smaller than whatever the institution was that the students previously attended;
- They are usually committed to operating procedures which are the antithesis of large schools, emphasizing flexibility, personal treatment, and student involvement in making decisions that affect them.

Yet these typologies while helpful for organising information are not particularly helpful to someone in an educational policy position worried about how or whether to respond to a demand for alternatives. They lack a solid conceptual base. Any two classrooms are different in some ways. Traditional schools (particularly secondary schools) provide different subjects from which students can choose. Almost any public school system has a variety of special programmes for special sub-populations, from accelerated honours to work-study. Are these not alternatives? Why should a public school system expand the range of choices available and embrace the more extreme forms of different educational programmes?

In truth, there is not, as yet, a good answer, except that public schools appear to be in deep trouble. Public school systems need not apologise for what efforts they have made to respond with a variety of programmes to meet the needs of a variety of student sub-populations. To the degree that a community is genuinely satisfied with the educational programme offered in its schools, educational policy makers not only need not, but would be unwise to, implement a set of alternative schools. But the number of such school systems appears to be very few, far fewer than the professionals want to admit.

The best support for trying alternatives, at least in the United States, appears to be the agreement among public school people that something different has to be done. While the alternative schools movement began outside the public school system(3), the associated and widely publicised radical critique which argued that the very structure of schooling needed changing appears to have fomented widespread and significant attitude change within many public school systems. Reforms that once were regarded as significant - curricular reform, improved buildings and equipment, team teaching - are seen even by spokesmen for the public systems as less than sufficient. Alternatives are merely working with different variables, or wider variations of common variables, than are usually found in public schools. Pressure for reform has become so great that it is reasonable to expect the widespread development of alternatives within the system very soon. A number of districts have already moved dramatically in that direction.(4)

While the most desirable typology of alternative schools would be based on variables that make a known significant difference in effects on students, to allow the selection of alternatives to match some particular student group's needs, the alternative schools movement is not yet there. But this is no reason to reject trying alternatives. There is equally no solid basis for what traditional schools do either and the mismatch between these programmes and student needs is widely acknowledged in many school systems. And work focused on identifying which variables make a difference in student learning and the effects of their manipulation has received a substantial boost from the willingness of alternatives to experiment with widely different forms of education, and to challenge the "givens" that have constrained much past educational research.(5)

## Can the Public System Resist the Movement Toward Alternative Schools?

In the United States many changes in other aspects of society parallel the move toward alternatives in public education: the increasing concern for the quality of life, as seen in the work on social indicators or the ecology movement; the emphasis on interpersonal relationships as in the experimentation with new forms of marriage, communes, encounter groups, and T-groups; the search for more human alternatives to the production line in large industry; and the resurgence of interest in the concept of community. These can all be seen as a reaction against the excessive specialisation depersonalisation, and large bureaucratic organisations of modern society.(6) For many the costs of estrangement, isolation, loss of meaning, and loss of a sense of control over one's own life have become too great.

Traditional high schools - large, impersonal, part of a large bureaucracy, run by specialists, encouraging isolation and competition among students, forcing students to fit preset moulds - are seen from this sociological perspective as mirroring, contributing to, and supporting the alienation and estrangement of the larger society. The alternative schools movement with its emphasis on smaller, more personal, and more flexible educational settings, focusing much attention on interpersonal relationships and feelings, and encouraging individual responsibility, decision making, and a search for meaning in life is part of the general effort to find ways to redress the excesses of modern society.

It is highly unlikely that public schools would be able to resist so widespread a social movement, even if it were wise. Changes in the public schools to reflect the concerns of the alternative schools movement, if not the forms, will almost undoubtedly come to pass. It is the degree that the public schools can play a leadership role in social change that determines whether changes will come sooner, rather than later.(7)

## The Mechanism for Change

The mechanism for change will probably be the increasing demand for participation in decision-making by the community served by the schools. Centralised bureaucratic institutions are inherently non-responsive. They are very efficient and effective so long as they are responding to homogeneous demands, but they become non-responsive when the demands become non-homogeneous. They then become defensive, protective, and rigid.(8)

Virtually all schools are now facing non-homogeneous demands and parties contesting for influence, if not control, over educational decision-making. The variety of possible responses by school professionals is great, and discussed at length in several of the other chapters in this volume. There are varieties of levels of participation, as well as a variety of purposes for it. Without careful work professionals with their expertise can control and manipulate inarticulate minorities. Without money, political backing and investigative powers, lay boards probably will never be able to control the professionals and the system. Who speaks for the community, and how to clearly articulate community desires, are difficult practical problems. And, it may well be that the mode of response by the public system should vary structurally according to the community demand structure: if homogeneous, keep the single hierarchical system; if a few groups, go to multiple institutions each controlled by one "party"; if virtually individual variations, go to vouchers.(9)

Rather than expand on these ideas, this paper will focus on a more narrow problem. Suppose the public system genuinely makes an effort to respond to non-homogeneous community demands, whether by enlightened choice or under duress. How much can institutions respond anyway? On what basis should the response be made? Can at least some of the problems be anticipated and avoided? Can at least some of the needs of different populations be met? Since "participation" will rapidly fall off if no change is apparent, developing the capacity to respond is critical if it is in the interest of public schools to avoid revolutionary change.

Much can be learned from the alternative school movement about how to respond to the new requests which will come up once participatory arrangements open the avenues of influence.

## Will the Proponents of Alternative Schooling be Willing to Join the Public System?

Once the establishment or incorporation of various alternative schools within the larger public school system becomes possible, many with their own version of education will choose to locate there. Graubard predicts:(10)

> As the difficulties of running free schools and scrounging for meager resources become more widely known...it will seem more realistic as a strategy to build an alternative school inside the system, even at the cost of some compromise, than to establish another small and fragile free school which might easily fail.

The compromises(11), such as a grading system, certified teachers, and control of some of the more extreme forms of political expression will probably seem worth the gain in financial support, stability, visibility, and the possibilities for wider influence. Probably only the most extreme pedagogies and political groups (plus in the United States all religious schools by constitutional prohibition) will have to remain outside the state system.

It thus becomes a question of critical importance to assess the value of alternatives and select or foster those which, within the resource limits of the public system, maximise the satisfaction of those served.

## Policy Decisions as Tradeoffs

Adopting any particular educational change will gain some things at the expense of others. Such a tradeoff attitude should frame deliberations about whether to implement any proposed educational alternative. "What is gained and what is lost, for whom, (12) by implementing this alternative in place of what we are doing now? Do the likely gains outweigh the losses?"

The judgement of relative value of the gains and losses is difficult.(13) Nevertheless, proposed changes could be assessed better if the known information about their effects were arrayed for such a weighing. Such an approach would also suggest needed analyses and studies. The quantity of analytic literature on alternative schools is small, making a clear weighing of gains and losses difficult, but the descriptive literature from which gains and losses can be inferred is large, and the tradeoff framework is still a useful way to discuss what is known.

## Rationales and Justifications

One source to consider in weighing the value of an alternative is the logic and defensibility of its rationale. Unfortunately, the extensive literature proposing or justifying one or another alternative in education(14) follows a consistent pattern of recounting some of the shortcomings of existing schools as organisations (e.g., rigid, bureaucratic, unresponsive, inhumane) and a number of bad or inappropriate effects on students that they attribute to the schools as presently organised (e.g., passivity, obedience, nonspontaneity, competitiveness). Most then leap to the position that doing away with the characteristics of schools that are disliked will result in the achievement of the opposite, more valued set of outcomes for students. The logic of the argument is that if the flexibility, the possibilities, in the school environment are increased by eliminating the rigidities and controls, those in the environment will be able to take *positive* advantage of the increased flexibility. Unfettered, the child will naturally grow to be spontaneous, active, self-directed, and concerned with others.(15)

These negative rationales - do away with the bad - are not helpful for a tradeoff analysis, because the rationales do not describe adequately what procedures *will* be used. Any alternative needs to be assessed within a positive framework - are the particular flexibilities and controls *with which the traditional ones are replaced* having (or likely to have) the desired effects? What kind of flexibility (or conversely what kind of controls), matched with what kind of student, will yield the more highly valued outcomes?

## Issues in the Operation of Alternatives

Since the rationales of many alternatives are similar, the experiences of operating alternatives provide a good empirical source of what the procedures *are* which replace the traditional ones. The descriptive and analytic literature on alternative schools reveal (not surprisingly) some large gaps between what is claimed in the rhetoric and what is seen in practice.

The alternative schools movement would be enhanced greatly by the identification of the alternative procedures that have been tried in place of the disliked aspects of traditional schools, and the identification of a body of likely consequences of each. This would increase the likelihood that new alternatives would not repeat the mistakes of the past, and that the movement will survive and grow. Since whatever way is chosen will be only partially effective, this degree of effectiveness needs to be taken into account when making predictions about the relative gains and losses, to whom, from implementing the alternative. The following paragraphs will illustrate this analysis for a few issues, and raise many more that might be so analysed.

## Predetermination of Educational Activities

Many staff who are attracted to alternative schools are repelled by the rigid predetermination of educational activities in traditional high schools. Courses to be offered are determined the previous January for the school year beginning in September. Students rarely have much opportunity to influence what is offered. After they make choices among the offerings (often largely proscribed by requirements and prerequisites in various "tracks"), the professional staff determine the way each course will be run, order materials, and decide on acceptable standards of completion. By September when the course starts, very little variation or adjustment is any longer possible. Students for whom the mismatch is large are forced to suffer through.

The alternative school people often argue in reaction to this that it would be improper, if not unethical, to plan ahead of time what they are going to do with their students. The only proper educational programme ought to grow out of the particular mix of students they have, and ought to involve the students in the determining of what they do.(16)

If the teachers wait until opening day to plan anything, they become overwhelmed. Planning individually tailored programmes is extremely time-consuming, often involving one-to-one relationships, and something has to be done with the remaining students in the room. Ordering materials takes time, so even if a direction of activity is determined by the group after they get together, it is often impossible to bring together the necessary resources to do it well. Having the initial meetings with students the previous spring or over the summer is usually impossible for many. Planning a certain range of possibilities from which students have to select, at least for the first part of the year, smacks of the old form of schooling, misses some students, and demands more resources in terms of materials, arrangements, and staff time than the traditional courses.

Despite the multitude of surface differences, the experiences and the pattern of development over time of alternative schools with this anti-planning or anti-predetermining bias are surprisingly similar.(17) This suggests that the forces which act upon schools that try to be different are very powerful and consistent. They cannot be overcome by ignoring them. The problem is to come up with some viable operating procedure that can provide meaningful tailoring of a programme to the individual students without foundering, and to preplan that procedure carefully. How to do this remains a critical question.

## Decision-Making in Alternative Schools

Any new institution must necessarily evolve some procedures of decision-making. For many of those attracted to alternative schools, the hierarchical, bureaucratic, autocratic nature of decision-making in traditional schools is the single facet they want most to escape.

The reaction against the traditional mode often leads to an initial attempt in alternative schools to have complete participatory democracy - involving everyone in every decision. This pattern almost inevitably breaks down, or continues to operate in a fashion much less satisfactory than originally envisioned.(18) It takes too long, meetings cannot be attended by many, and it is dominated by the more articulate and informed.

The longer-lived alternatives have developed different or additional patterns of decision-making, but each new pattern has different problems. A task force to propose a decision lacks legitimacy unless the natural leaders are on it, which saps more and more of their time; representative decision-making bodies tend to break down because there is no natural basis for determining which groups deserve representatives; and passing decisions down through a hierarchy smacks of the old tradition of schools.(19)

Any alternative school is going to have to make decisions across all levels of importance, from ordering paper to deciding to hire a teacher or expel a student. How to decide which decisions ought to be handled which way, and who ought to be involved in making the decisions, remains a critical question. Balancing the amount of time involved against the gains in legitimacy and involvement is very difficult.

### Decision-execution

A reaction against being ordered to obey or enforce seemingly arbitrary and mindless decisions and regulations in traditional schools often surfaces in alternative schools as an unwillingness of individuals (students and staff) to follow decisions with which they disagree. Each, of course, has his own justification. The general concern for interpersonal sensitivity, however, often makes no one willing to confront offenders. The collective effect is great difficulty in carrying out and enforcing decisions. Any alternative school needs to balance egalitarian values and interpersonal sensitivity with task orientation and effective group action. Achieving this is no simple task.(20)

### Involving Students in School Decision-Making

A reaction against the arbitrary manipulation of students and the forcing of them to conform to the institution in traditional schools often appears in alternatives as an attempt to treat students as equals in all school decisions. This has been very difficult to realise in practice. Most students appear not to care about many of the decisions in which they suddenly have an opportunity to participate.(21)

Successful and meaningful involvement of students in decision-making comes only at considerable cost in terms of staff time, decision-making speed, and effort to demonstrate that their involvement indeed makes a difference. The more effective procedures developed so far try to balance these forces by limiting student involvement to certain key decisions, and working very hard to get genuine involvement in those.

### Selection of Students

A reaction against the "tracks" in traditional schools (e.g., college-bound, vocational, business-secretarial) which severely reinforce racial and social class separations and limit opportunities for many students often appears in alternative schools as a general valuing of maximum diversity within any educational setting, and an unwillingness to group students on any basis other than random or student choice.

Generally, the more diverse the student population, the more diverse must be the content and instructional approaches offered, and the diversity of the staff. The greater the diversity, the more rapidly the demands outstrip the resources of the alternative. Flexibility is not enough. The task is to maximise student diversity within the limits of the capability and appropriateness of the programme offered. The more successful alternatives appear to have been selective about the kind of student they served, and defined the instructional programme and hired the set of teachers to deal with the particular needs of that particular subgroup.(22) The increased willingness to allow free choice of alternatives by students will probably act to decrease the diversity of students in any one, but this time in contrast to traditional schools it will be by choice, not be assignment.

### Additional Issues

Many more issues might be cited: use of community resources, differing instructional techniques, interactions with parents, use of peer group influence, involving of students in direct action activities, and determination of the goals of the alternative are just a few. Since experimentation with approaches to dealing with any of these issues is quite young, it is difficult yet to say much about whether what is learned in alternative schools is better or worse than what is learned in traditional schools. It does appear that students learn different things in alternatives. That many parents and students will choose them if offered the choice seems sufficient reason to continue the experimentation with new forms of educational experience.

## Policies for Promoting Alternative Schools

If there will be the development of a wide variety of choices - alternatives - that include not only (or even primarily) the content of instruction but the nature of the institutional context within which the instruction happens, what policies will promote and support this movement? It appears that alternatives have a better chance if they are small to permit successful departures from the usual institutional pattern associated with "schooling". They should range in size, and come into existence when some minimal number want a particular alternative. A maximum size of under 100 students seems to be the largest size that can retain the flexibility and personal contact so desired. If more than this number want one alternative, it appears better to have two separate examples of it.

Separate buildings appear to help alternatives maintain their differences. If possible, schools physically should begin to resemble collections of different kinds of buildings (houses, storefronts, warehouses, studios) spread across a few square blocks of a city, with some kind of core facilities (gym, cafeteria, theatre, machine shops, library) in an area accessible by a short walk from any one of the alternatives. The core facilities might well be available to the community in off-hours and possibly commercially run during evenings and weekends.

It would be best if each alternative was able to operate according to its own rules, within whatever limits the local educational administration and the law set; and if each has its own budget, proportional to the number of students, with some formula for additional allocations for particularly expensive equipment or particularly difficult students. Some should be permitted to have students of all ages, from five or below to eighteen. Others will serve more narrow ranges, depending on the alternative. At least in the foreseeable future, some of the alternatives will run like traditional schools, because many parents and students want that, but that one mould will not be forced on everyone. Each alternative should develop its own relationship to its parents and the aspects of the community important to it. The smaller size will make parent involvement more possible.

New alternatives ought to come and go as the demand for them rises or falls. Leased building space, instead of the present capital investment in huge edifices, would be a sensible direction in which to move to provide reasonable ease of phasing out one alternative and replacing it with another. Physical space ought to be designed to fit the alternative.

The administrative decision-making mechanisms for a school district with many alternatives will be difficult to develop, but not impossible. Among the more knotty problems of administration will be providing some mechanism which allows students and parents to choose the alternative they want; allows students to switch from one alternative to another easily; deals with any problems of racial imbalance; handles destructive ingroup-outgroup tensions between alternatives; keeps schools from becoming homogeneous, exclusive, and reinforcing of present social strata. Yet, to carve high schools and districts up into a variety of small units, each with enough physical separation to allow it to develop relatively freely into its own form, with the power of self-selection by parents and students, would immensely reduce the difficulties schools have now, and open the possibility of a more positive future for public education through the much wider educational opportunity, experimentation, and the satisfying of more constituencies. To trade the present problems of schools for the administrative headaches of multiple alternatives seems a worthwhile tradeoff.

## The More Distant Future

Adolescents are as a group under more pressure from more sources than any other age group in the society - parents, their peer group, teachers, the opposite sex, and if they are either poor or in trouble, parole officers, welfare workers, courts, landlords, and police. Many also have jobs - often full-time jobs - and assume significant responsibility for their own lives and the care of younger children.

No institution in our society(23) helps the adolescent integrate the many and diverse forces that impinge on him, sort through them, cope with them, decide on some useful path to follow in relation to them, master them. If schools could escape from the very limiting view of their role as preparing students for later life, the possibility might open that their most appropriate role is to help adolescents integrate and deal with the forces that are affecting them. If so, alternative schools will have contributed much, for they have pioneered and legitimised many of the necessary educational approaches.

## Conclusion

The first generation of alternative schools demonstrated that schools could be run in ways dramatically different from the usual. They permitted much fuller human expression and experience than usually allowed. They dramatised just how limited were the options provided by the different content of courses, all taught in standard time blocks in roughly the same way. They made evident the narrow structure within which students were expected to be able to function in order to "learn", and demonstrated not only how mismatched this was for many students, but also the kind of bad effects this narrow set of socialising forces (the hidden curriculum) had on students of both the dominant culture and racial and ethnic minorities. They identified many new problems that were not being attended to by the educational and social service institutions of our society, problems that were hidden, suppressed, or blamed on the student in traditional schools. They served to catalyze various groups - parents, students, teachers - into believing that they could create the kind of school they wanted.

Alternatives began by rejecting the traditional school pattern on the grounds that few variables which could be manipulated - length of class time, new curricular materials, number of teachers working together - could not bring about the differences in effects on students that they thought important, regardless of how manipulated. They may well have both forced, and provided the directions for, public school systems to become more responsive.

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2. For somewhat similar lists, see Vernon H. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-435; and David Morse, "The Alternative", *Media and Methods*, Vol. 7, No. 9, May 1971, pp. 30-31.

3. Allen Graubard succinctly summarises this history in "*Alternative Education*: *The Free School Movement in the United States*". An ERIC Paper. Stanford University: ERIC Clearinghouse on Media and Technology. Stanford, California. September 1972.

4. Federal funding of experimentation has helped greatly. Originally money from outside the Office of Education, principally from the Office of Economic Opportunity, helped fund storefront schools, and recently the Voucher Plan. Title I and Title III funds through the Office of Education started many new programmes, even though few had effects on the larger system. The Experimental Schools Program, now part of the National Institute of Education, has helped the Berkeley, California, public schools move to more than twenty alternatives as its entire formal organisation; and the Minneapolis, Minnesota, Public Schools to convert one section of the city's public schools into alternatives. The National Consortium for Options in Public Education, Bloomington, Indiana, is promoting such a movement and has a membership of many large city school systems.

5. See for example, Joseph C. Grannis, "A Brief Agenda for Research in Political Pedagogy, or the Political Ecology of Education", (unpublished paper), Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, 9th April, 1973; David Hunt, *Matching Models in Education*, Toronto: Ontario Institute for the Study of Education. Monograph Series No. 10, 1971; and Leila Sussman, with Laura Schorr, "The Functioning of Peer Groups in Open Classrooms", (unpublished paper), Syracuse University Education Policy Research Center, Syracuse, New York. 18th May, 1973.

6. I am greatly indebted to a rural sociologist, Dr. Edward O. Moe, of the United States Department of Agriculture Co-operative Research Bureau in Washington, D.C., for my own insight into this sociological perspective. See also the report of a Planning

Conference for the National Institute of Education by Orville G. Brim, Jr., Bruce K. Eckland, Dan C. Lortie, James P. Pitts, David Riesman, Martin Trow, and Burton R. Clark entitled, "Sociology and the Study of Education", 30-31 July 1971, for an even broader, and more research-oriented, perspective.

7. Whether or not they can is a subject of wide debate and beyond the scope of this paper. In either case it will happen sooner in some places than in others, depending on the particular circumstances.

8. This is a paraphrase, from notes, of comments by Professor Harmon Zeigler of the University of Oregon from the conference.

9. Many of the insights of this paragraph came from the conference.

10. Graubard, Allen. "The Free School Movement." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 42, No. 3, August 1972, pp. 372-373.

11. For an additional list of the likely accommodations alternatives will have to make to be incorporated within the public system, see Mario Fantini, "Alternatives within the Public Schools", Phi Delta Kappan, Vol. LIV, No. 7, March 1973, pp. 445-446.

12. In weighing gains and losses those of the teachers, parents, and the community probably ought to be taken into account also, not just the gains and losses to students, though many might argue that schools are as they are now largely to benefit parents (who want a babysitter) and the staff, rather than students.

13. How to make these judgements with wisdom is a critical question - though beyond the scope of this paper. Many are experimenting with varying degrees of student, parent, and community involvement in the process of making these judgements. One of the most elaborate processes for doing this is presently being developed by the Rural Education Program of the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory. Nearly everyone agrees that professionals within the system should not have the exclusive power to make these judgements.

14. Many books and articles might be cited here. Probably the most available are Beatrice and Ronald Gross, Eds. Radical School Reform. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969; and Ivan Illich. Deschooling Society. New York: Harper and Row, 1971.

15. Probably the best known exponent of this is John Holt, in such books as Freedom and Beyond, New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1972; see also books by Kozol, Kohl, Silberman, and Herndon; for a perceptive critique of this position, see Frederick Mulhauser and Marilyn Bernstein, "Second Thoughts on Alternative Schools" (unpublished paper).

16. This was most apparent to me during the years I worked as an administrator of an inner-city alternative high school. The attitude has been reported repeatedly among groups who get together to open a new alternative school.

17. See Center for New Schools. "Decision-Making in Alternative Secondary Schools." Report from a National Conference. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 25 May 1972.

18. See Center for New Schools. "Strengthening Alternative High Schools." Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 42, No. 3, August 1972, pp. 336-337.

19. Yarofsky, Saul, Ed. *Report of the Philadelphia Conference on Alternative Schools*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, 5 June 1971. Appendix.

20. Many case studies and reports document this. For just one good example, see Gollub, Wendy L. and Fritz Mulhauser. *Cambridge Pilot School, First Year Report*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: September 1970, pp. 29-38.

21. For a powerful explanation of this, see Center for New Schools. *Harvard Educational Review*. *op. cit.*, pp. 336. See also John Holt, *Freedom and Beyond*. *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41.

22. A number of examples might be cited here, ranging from the Street Academies and the Pennsylvania Advancement School to the Group School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. All serve a particular type of student, and put together whatever combination of services and staff it takes.

23. Except, of course, the family, and during adolescence this is often part of the problem instead of part of the solution.

## 4. THE RELATIONS BETWEEN SCHOOL AND THE PLACE OF WORK

by

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### Introduction

This paper will not deal in any depth with the more general and above all political aspects of relations between school and work, although the issue is highly political in nature. The content of the paper reflects certain values and beliefs of what kind of relations should be developed between school and the place of work.

In the first place I shall take a brief look at the apparent trends in contemporary life at work. Which futures seem plausible and desirable? What are the prerequisities for a relation between school and life at work? My point of view will be an organisational one. I shall regard school as a place of work like, and among, other places of work; and where possible I shall provide concrete illustrations from our research programmes at the Work Research Institute in Oslo.

### Trends in life at work

Most of our work places in modern times have been organised with a view to efficiency - efficiency for getting optimal productivity. The organisational means to achieve this have been division of labour, the building up of vast bureaucracies and fragmented, specialised and programmed work-tasks at each level of strong, hierarchic systems.(1) The degree of freedom for any given job lessens as you approach the shop floor level.

The dysfunctions of a highly fragmented and mechanical work organisation were recognised quite early (as e.g. by Charlie Chaplin in "Modern Times"), but as long as the organisation has proved effective (i.e. production has accelerated) not much has been done to remedy them. It is worth spelling out some of these dysfunctions:

- As work-organisations grow in size and complexity, and individual tasks have become increasingly fragmented and specialised, alienation and apathy result. Man does not oversee his life-span, he has very little influence upon his own life-situation - of which his job is a considerable part.

- Lack of influence in the job part of a man's life-situation and a routinised, mechanistic place of work are likely also to influence his leisure time. Some evidence has been found for the assertion that men from very mechanistic and socially depriving work situations tend to be non-participants in community-life.(2) We become the homo-consumer (a phrase used by Fromm), watching TV with a beer can or coke in our hand, and acting more on a basis of individual consumer-jealousy than humanity and solidarity.
- People stuck in repetitive and depriving jobs are easily caught in a vicious circle: they don't learn on the job, the job doesn't stimulate personal development, and as a result they don't want anything else. "They like it that way," as some managers say.
- Lack of individual freedom and opportunity for learning in rigid organisations also prevents organisational or institutional learning. The work-organisation is strictly "tailored" to pursue a specific goal, and cannot easily be changed - even if the surroundings demand it. (This, of course, applies especially to monopolistic organisations.)
- The focusing upon production growth and marketing has led among other things to an alarming depletion of energy resources, growth of pollution, and disturbance of ecological balance. Even now these problems are not really under control, and there are many others yet unknown to come.

In short, our societies are highly turbulent(3), and we need organisations and work-places (whether for industry, public administration or educational) that can cope with this turbulence.

The scientific rationalisation of the traditional work-place is intensifying the conflict between the opportunity for free development of human potential and the hard realities of daily life in the work force.(4) In this context, I feel we should be supporting an emerging organisational trend that is expressed in the phrase "democratisation process".(5) One of the aims of this process is to provide better opportunities for people to choose their own careers and to decide upon and design their own life-situation - not, however, as isolated individuals, but as jointly responsible citizens.

An important aspect of this organisational thinking is the design of jobs where the interdependence between the technological and social systems is highlighted. Such jobs should provide opportunities for learning in the work situation and, indeed, for further learning whereby greater ability and influence can be exercised by employees, e.g. in making decisions about the sharing of power. It is essentially a question of technological techniques. Techniques of production that include concepts of personal interest, learning, innovation, and decision-making are very different from those without such concepts(6), and a redesign of work-roles becomes possible. More freedom and responsibility is given to the work group. The managing role becomes more that of a gate-keeper: to assure that the working groups have adequate conditions to act to some extent autonomously - rather than prescribing and controlling what is being done. This trend may well signal a shift from our traditional cultural reliance upon individual selfishness towards individual benefits, group initiative and solidarity.

## Roles of the school

Whether or not we shall succeed in coping with our present turbulent environment probably depends on the way in which our working life is organised. In this, the "democratisation trend" seems to me to offer the greatest promise.

As for school, I feel it too should be part of the democratisation process. The proper relation between the school and working life is not a question of whether it should be adapted to present trends in industry or not; schools should not provide cannon fodder for industry, no matter what the industry is. Industry and school are both parts of a more complex system - society - and it would be wrong merely to search for ways to adapt pupils to the specific needs of one part only. Indeed, to satisfy the short-term needs and trends in industry might very well result in a real maladaptation to a turbulent environment in the long-term. "Après moi le déluge..." (A good example is the present energy crisis, the shortage of oil supplies. This threatens society as a whole because we have built highly vulnerable mono-cultures, instead of more balanced and flexible systems that stand on more than one foot and thus are less susceptible to sudden changes in environment.) It may be more important to teach pupils how to learn to handle unforeseen problems and raise new questions, rather than to exercise and repeat the old ones. It may be right to enable them not to tolerate alienating, inhuman, job-situations or suppression.

These are very general aims for the school. Additionally, however, some basic and specific skills needed in industry will have to be taught if education is to be of any use. This applies especially to vocational schools - but it is true also for general education. Somehow the "three Rs" have to learn.

This raises the problem of distinguishing between attitudes and values on the one hand and skills on the other. How does one create a learning situation that enables pupils to make use of, and transform, society and the places of work? No single answer can be given to this question, but one way of approaching the problems is to apply our organisational thinking to the structure of school.

The school as a place of work

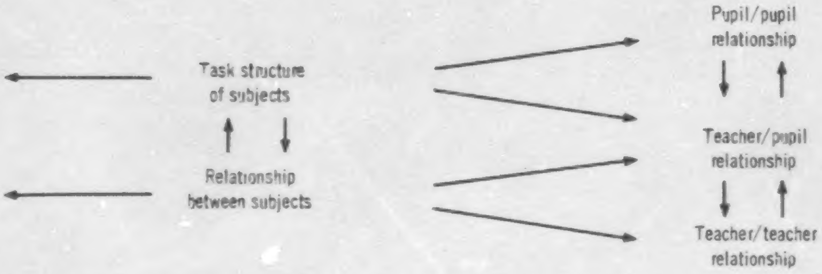
As places of work, most schools have more resemblance to the mechanistic, hierarchic and fragmented industrial organisations than some of us care to see.

In my brief comments on trends in working life I have concentrated on the design of jobs; so too the design of jobs in schools should follow from a proper structuring of the learning task.

As in industrial organisations there is great interdependence between technology/technical design and the social system, so in the school there is interdependence between the task (or subject) structure and the social system, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1

TASK STRUCTURE AND THE SOCIAL SYSTEM


Task structure of subjects
Relationship between subjects
Pupil/pupil relationship
Teacher/pupil relationship
Teacher/teacher relationship

(After Herbst, P.: ***Maps of Knowledge.*** To appear in Socio-Technical Design, Tavistock Publ. London 1974).

As to the relationship between subjects (maths, physics, history, language, etc.) the question is whether they should be taught as isolated elements or in some more integrated way. If they are organised as independent elements, the teachers have little reason, or even opportunity, to co-operate. Yet, as indicated in the figure, such co-operation is basic for a proper relationship between teachers.

As to the concept of task structure, there are three main elements:

a) the problem, i.e. source, material to start with $(S_1)$
b) the solution to reach, i.e. a product or outcome $(S_o)$.
c) the method of operation $(\pi)$ applied to the problem in order to achieve the solution.(7)

Some tasks are determinate in the sense that every element is specifiable and the outcome predictable; all is, in fact, known beforehand. This is essentially a production type task and, in principle, could be programmed and run by a computer. As a work situation it would correspond to the fragmented, mechanistic type of job design. Herbst formalises this type of task as $(S_1)\pi \rightarrow S_o$.

In a second type of task, an initial state and a required outcome state might be given, and the problem is to find some method, i.e. a set of operations, that will make it possible to move from the initial state to the outcome state: $(S_1)? \longrightarrow S_o$. Herbst claims that "if in the educational setting we provide the student with the necessary instruction and training to achieve this, then we degrade what is essentially a research type task into a production type task."

The third type of task is where some materials (problem resources) are given and the question is what can be done with them $(S_1)? \longrightarrow ?$

Observing classroom activities at all levels from primary to teacher training school, we were struck with the similarity of learning, the question of who made decisions, the kind of relations that existed between the participants and, furthermore, their relations with the outside community.(8)

In most of the schools we visited the learning tasks were for the greater part structured as production-type tasks regardless of subject. That is, in most cases the pupils, and to some extent the teachers, were dealing with tasks to which they could apply little or nothing in the way of imagination, creativity or testing of hypotheses. All was provided in the text book, in the teacher's questions and instructions, or in self-instructional programmes.

Our impressions, somewhat generalised, are illustrated in Figure 2 where the crucial areas are the segmentation of subjects and the programmed task structure.(9)

The predominance of what could be called closed task structures in school very much prevents good relations with working life outside, and appears contradictory to the emerging process of democratisation going on there. Some consequences of this might be:

a) The learning process resulting from such a structure is likely to encourage submissiveness, a lack of ability to raise problems and a disability to work out solutions to new problems that may turn up. In many respects our societies (including industry) are desperate for people able to suggest new solutions to problems. There is much less need for people who are clever at repeating the old solutions.

b) The closed task structures are likely to split up relationships between pupils, deprive them of an experience important for all kinds of employment, i.e. co-operation and teamwork. (Less than 10 per cent of the activities we observed in classrooms involved group- or team-work. When it did appear, it seemed to be of a rather quasi-character. The task seldom presupposed open discussion and a joint effort.)

c) The curriculum tends to be static while new knowledge and new problems develop at an increasing rate outside school.

d) The teachers are trapped in a role as intermediaries of possibly obsolete knowledge - administering the teaching of special techniques and preparing pupils for examinations. The teacher's possibilities of keeping in touch with new discoveries and the trends in his field are scarce - at least in the course of his daily job situation.

e) As the learning process within a closed task structure is set by the structure, it might be difficult to initiate interdisciplinary projects, and it is certainly difficult to make use of situations/problems spontaneously appearing within or outside school. Max Wertheimer has given telling illustrations of how repetitive fragmented teaching of techniques can be, quite contrary to any basic understanding of a subject.(10)

For many reasons the working life seems to be a hidden and unknown world for the young generation. Centralisation has created long distances between homes and work places. The grown-ups are shuttling back and forth - working in some strange remote place that might in addition be overwhelming, big, complex and inhospitable with production processes running in closed circuits.

As stated already, the closed task structure at school in itself can prevent any reasonable relationships between the school and the world of work. In preliminary studies for a project at the Work Research Institute, we found that pupils' perceptions and ideas about what working life might be like and what it might expect from them were rather casual and inaccurate. This furthermore was in an area where homes and the place of work were relatively close. Our experiences here very much coincide with those reported by John Bazalgette.(11)

Most of the pupils at a commercial vocational school we investigated had few ideas or plans for the future. They thought the employers expected them to master some methods and techniques, specifically those they were exercising for their examinations. In the event, the employer turned out to pay little attention to what the pupils had learned in school;(12) they wanted their employees to be able to use their own judgement, to be co-operative and honest. Applicants with vocational school background were preferred by the employers because "they have grown one year older", not because of the skills they had achieved. In any case, most of the employees have to be retrained on the job.

## Towards a new model, some experiences

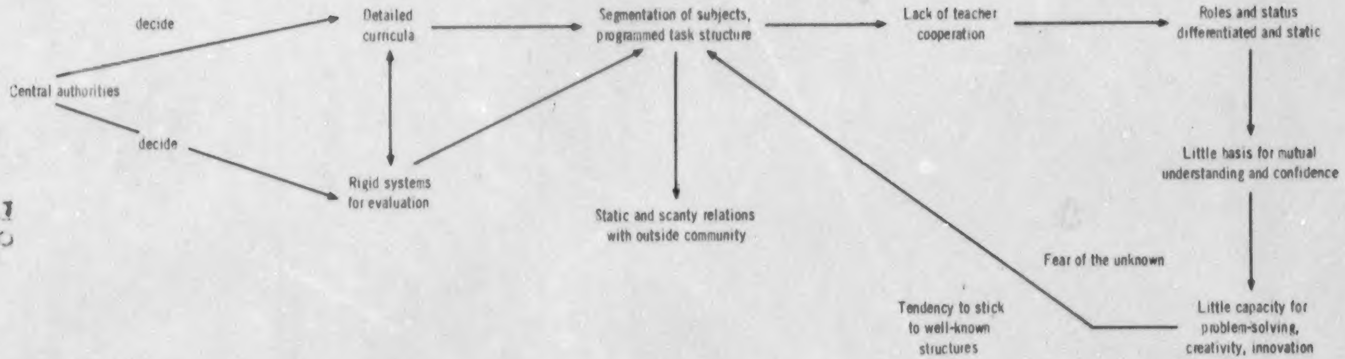
It seems to me that, if we are going to bridge the boundary between school and work, the school's part in this should be a restructuring of educational tasks. Such internal reorganisation should result in the opening-up of tasks.

The Work Research Institute in Oslo has started projects in schools, taking advantage of former research on job redesign and socio-technical analysis done by the Oslo Institute and the Tavistock Institute of London.(13) What we are searching for in these projects is some kind of open model to replace the more closed one which we have just been discussing. (Fig. 2). This means finding out how a process towards greater autonomy for pupils as well as teachers can be started. Such an alternative model is illustrated, tentatively and in a generalised way, in figure 3.

We have mainly been working with two vocational schools, one commercial, the other industrial. Both are situated in a town of medium size (about 30,000 inhabitants) which has been rapidly expanding over the last ten years. The work life is very differentiated, and some of the industries (metal or textile works) are quite large by Norwegian standards. Many of these local industries have together created a body for co-operation and development. The school system of the area is very adequately developed, each youngster having the opportunity of schooling until the age of 17. The industrial school is fairly large, with about 500 students and 50 teachers. The commercial school has about 200 students and 20 teachers.

Figure 2

COMMON TASK STRUCTURE IN CLASSROOMS

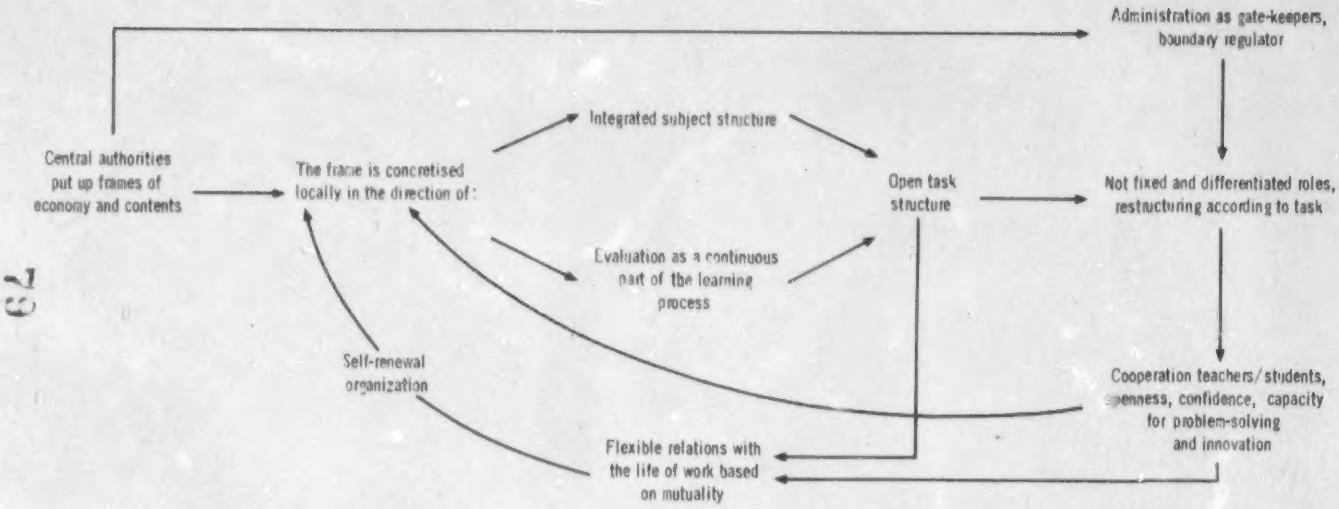

decide
Central authorities
decide
Detailed curricula
Rigid systems for evaluation
Segmentation of subjects, programmed task structure
Static and scanty relations with outside community
Lack of teacher cooperation
Roles and status differentiated and static
Little basis for mutual understanding and confidence
Fear of the unknown
Tendency to stick to well-known structures
Little capacity for problem-solving, creativity, innovation

The arrows show tentative relationships.

(Blichfeld and Jangård 1972).

## Figure 3

## ALTERNATIVE TASK STRUCTURE IN CLASSROOMS


Central authorities put up frames of economy and contents
The frame is concretised locally in the direction of:
Integrated subject structure
Evaluation as a continuous part of the learning process
Open task structure
Administration as gate-keepers, boundary regulator
Not fixed and differentiated roles, restructuring according to task
Cooperation teachers/students, openness, confidence, capacity for problem-solving and innovation
Flexible relations with the life of work based on mutuality
Self-renewal organization

(Blichfeldt and Jangård 1972).

## Field experiences

The first case in point in this investigation is a course for industrial electronics at the industrial vocational school created and presented as a joint effort by local industry and the school itself. An outline of what should be learned during this course (which lasts two years) was worked out mainly by the teacher, but was confirmed by the central authority before being put into practice. The students of the class do not spend much of their time reading text books or solving problems from some learning programme, **nor in** listening to lectures. Instead, most of their learning tasks come from the local industry. To illustrate: a company has a problem of a more or less comprehensive nature within the field of electronics which they do not know how to solve. The students and their teachers go out to the company concerned; they make a sketch of the problem, gather relevant data of how the equipment functions and under which conditions, and then back in school they break up into groups to work on the problem. As a solution begins to emerge, one group - or maybe even one pupil - is put to concentrate on the task. Often a simulation model is built.

If the students get stuck during the "research" process, they will ask the teacher, who might have an answer, but who is also likely to guide them to some relevant literature or to give them a clue and then ask them to go back and think it over once more. The practicability of the solution might then be tried out in the company's plant.

A few examples will give an idea of the kind of tasks these students work on. A steel company, for instance, had the problem of their furnaces using too much electricity.(14) The furnaces could not be turned off for more than about 5 minutes or the steel would loose its quality. What the students managed to do was to work out an electronic device that would turn the furnaces off and on in series. As a result of this the use of surplus electricity could be prevented by there always being one furnace that was switched off - but for never more than a few minutes at a time.

We have many examples where students have actually brought forward new learning, i.e. where they really have been doing research. The kind of task they work with often is of the open type: $?S_1 \rightarrow ?$. Such work requires, of course, the learning of certain techniques, methods and theories.

This example illustrates some aspects of the relationship between local industry and the school as well as some aspects of the structuring of tasks and roles within school. In the case of the steel works, local industry played an important part in the project, in fact, it provided much of the initiative. In the first place it represented a resource in the learning process by presenting a situation with problems relevant to this kind of education. The industry also actively supported the teacher's further education by agreeing with the school that he should work half his time at school and half at the plant where he could take part in the electronics research project to which we referred earlier.

A danger that can arise in a situation like this is that the school might become merely a supplier of simple and inexpensive services to the industry. This point was raised and made clear by industrial representatives. It was agreed that as long as the school has and uses the right to decide which projects are of interest, this need not raise too many problems.

The relations that have developed at this school between students, teacher and administration we found to be of major interest. The students now act more like responsible problem-posers and problem-solvers than mere recipients of given knowledge. Within the group positive relationships have developed. The students help each other, some occasionally acting as teachers or supervisors for the group. The teacher stays very much in the background, mostly giving help when asked for it. He has the contact with industry, and he is able to find time for planning and some professional reading during a school day. He is also responsible for evaluation which he bases mainly on project reports worked out by the students. A very small amount of his time is used for lecturing. The administration, i.e. the headmaster of the school, has taken the role of a boundary-keeper in this case. He sees to it that the teacher and students have what they need and that they can work relatively autonomously.

A summary of the relations between those involved in the industrial vocational school project is presented in Figure 4.

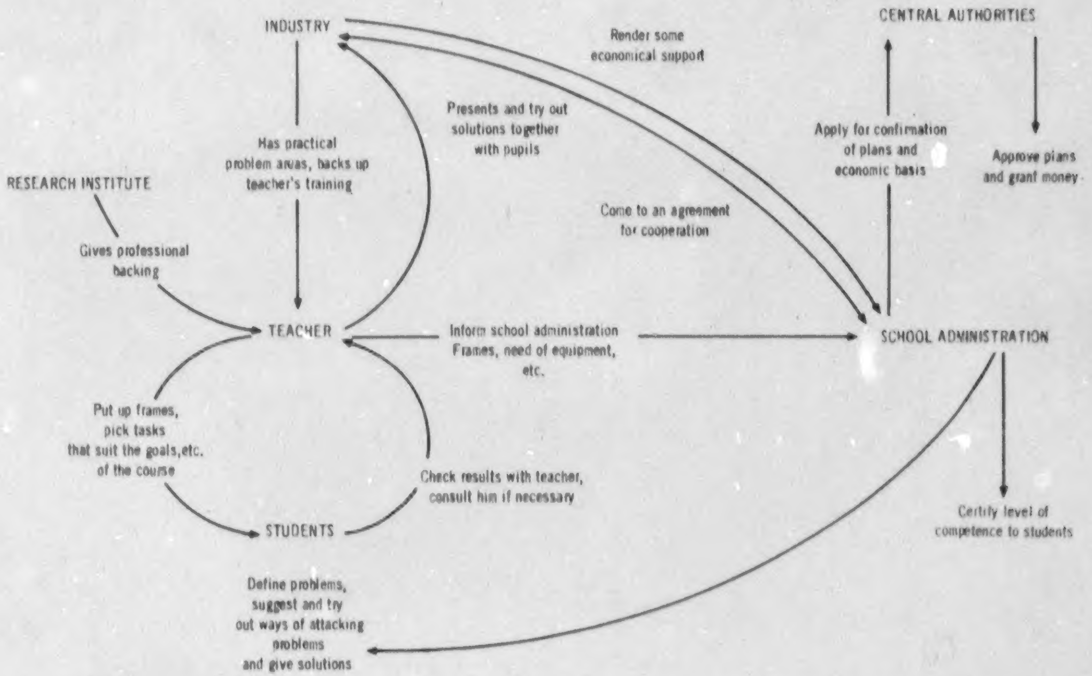
Finally, the conditions that made the whole of this undertaking possible should be listed.

a) The co-operation and development body established jointly by different industrial companies in the district.

   i) They wanted to develop know-how in the fields of electronics.
   ii) To obtain this they established contact with the vocational school and a public research institute.
   iii) They made an agreement with the school that enabled a teacher to work half time on a development project led by the research institute. For this he was paid by industry.
   iv) They supplied the school with some basic electronic equipment.

Figure 4

INDUSTRIAL VOCATIONAL SCHOOL PROJECT


INDUSTRY
Render some economical support
CENTRAL AUTHORITIES
Presents and try out solutions together with pupils
Has practical problem areas, backs up teacher's training
Apply for confirmation of plans and economic basis
Approve plans and grant money.
RESEARCH INSTITUTE
Come to an agreement for cooperation
Gives professional backing
TEACHER
Inform school administration Frames, need of equipment, etc.
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION
Put up frames, pick tasks that suit the goals,etc. of the course
Check results with teacher, consult him if necessary
Certify level of competence to students
STUDENTS
Define problems, suggest and try out ways of attacking problems and give solutions

(Blichfeldt 1972)

b) The course, as something quite new, was not restricted by existing curricula and formalities of evaluation, though the plans had to be confirmed by the central school department.

c) As a result of his continuing relations with industry and research, the teacher was able to provide his pupils with tasks to work on. After a time the industry came to know that the school was interested in having problems presented to it. The pupils also have been using their private contacts to seek out interesting problems, in fact one of the most comprehensive and interesting tasks of last year was suggested by a student. This also meant the establishment of a new industrial relationship - with a local canning industry which does not participate in the local body for co-operation and development.

d) Geographical nearness of industry. The project of this particular course could hardly have taken place in a school situated in one of those modern suburbs where people just eat and sleep. Also of basic importance, but in a somewhat different dimension, has been the network of mutual trust built and maintained between the teacher, his headmaster and the local industrialists.

The relationship between the worlds of work and school might be of a simpler kind, and one in which the school is much more in control. This is demonstrated in a project at a commercial vocational school. The school has ordinary one-year commercial classes for pupils mostly 15-16 years old coming directly from the comprehensive school; and two-year courses that enable students to enter the gymnasium. Up to the present, however, the project has concentrated on the one-year commercial classes.

After a period of analysis of their school and subsequent planning, some members of the staff carried out two pilot projects in order to break down the existing task and subject structure. One of the aims was to see if it were possible to establish a closer relationship with the outside world of work.

One of the projects, which was run only for two two-week periods, concentrated on what was called "totally designed tasks." With the existing curriculum as a starting point, tasks were given that included a variety of different subjects such as bookkeeping, typing, language, commercial arithmetic, etc. The tasks could be solved in an unknown number of ways. The pupils worked in groups, each group working its own way. To solve the problems the pupils would have to visit firms, banks, public offices.

In this case, the problems of tasks were not given by businesses outside the school, although they were of a very practical nature.

Instead, they were designed by the teachers. Furthermore, the tasks of the two projects were designated somewhat differently and this led to somewhat different developments as they were solved. No outside contacts were made in advance, but the pupils developed them when they came to need information. To most of them this was an unusual and even frightening experience. They gave vivid examples of what it felt like to call a bank, just to be switched over between five different people and then finally back to the first; or to have an appointment with the manager and hardly dare to force one's way through the open-office landscape with busy typists to knock at the solid oak door.

Although the pupils were not supposed to maintain the contacts they had made with firms or offices, some actually did so. One group made an agreement with a firm to send a copy of their report. This they did, and received it back with comments that provided a good background for further discussions. Apparently they had gathered more relevant and accurate information about business life than was usual. This illustrates that occasionally the results presented by the pupils do not correspond with the text books or what is being taught. In some cases the statements in the text book turned out to be obsolete, and to have been so for some years, or only one practice was indicated out of many that are possible.

As to the relationships between pupils and teachers, they were radically changed in both groups. The teachers, who also worked as a group and who together taught the different subjects, kept somewhat in the background as resource persons rendering help when required. Like the electronics teacher, they would rather point to the relevant literature or have a discussion with their students, putting pertinent questions to them. When asked for it (as happened) they would also give a lecture about some theory or methods that were needed to continue with the problem-solving process.

The pupils' statements were positive, even if they often received questions in return instead of accurate text book answers. "I got the feeling that the teacher really had some time to listen and helped me to get to what the problem was all about," was one typical statement.

Some of the teachers began to feel that the role they had been practising for years was somewhat superfluous. They felt they were descending from their exalted place at the master's desk. Some liked this and no one actually disliked it, and we received the impression that what is required by the teacher when introducing a programme of this kind is more the courage to break away from tradition than any special training.

The relations between pupils turned out to be quite different in the two classes, probably because of the different structure of the tasks. The task of the first class was designed in a way that forced the pupils to do some planning and co-ordination of the work before they got started. They could choose different problems which were interrelated and mutually dependent. The task of the second class was wide open and all the pupils worked on the same problems.

In the first class co-operation went very well. The students were able to handle conflicts within their groups, and they complemented and helped each other. Some said that during this short period they felt they really got to know each other, even though they had already been in the same class for half a year.

In the second class the groups never managed to plan and co-ordinate their work, and some tendencies to competition between groups were seen. The tasks within a group tended to be distributed so that each student was given responsibility for the part he knew best. All worked hard, but they tended to specialise rather than to co-operate. The second group was allotted a task that in a way was too difficult in that it presupposed a learning process they had not been through. Given time, it would have been possible for these pupils to gain the insights necessary to manage such an open situation; but they are in school only for one year (which is the case for many vocational schools) and this is probably not long enough. We would not have been surprised if this second class had soon gone back to traditional schooling, although this provides a poor grounding for the ability to handle freedom.

Other examples that illustrate an open learning situation and show that these principles might be applicable to other parts of the school system are those given by Sylvia Ashton Warner(15) and Paolo Freire.(16) Warner has taught school beginners to read and write by having them choose their own vocabulary. These children learned that writing and reading might be important for them because it gave them a tool for better understanding and using their community. They produce their own readers and "text books", which to them is quite natural, for they are the ones who experience the daily problems, joys, sorrows - not the standard authors. In his alphabetising work in Brazil, mostly among adults, Paolo Freire worked much along the same lines.

## Summary

The relations between school and the outside world of work may range from total isolation via casual tourist excursions or movies to schooling being part of working-life and maybe, even, conducted on industrial premises.

Our experiences indicate that the nature of this relationship depends to a considerable extent on the inner organisation of the school. The working life is always moving, creating new and hitherto unknown problems and solutions. If the schools tie themselves up in segmented subject structures and closed task structures with the corresponding timetables, text books, exams and rigid social relationships, their relations with the world of work will tend to be of a restricted and often irrelevant nature.

The qualities of such a closed learning process are likely to produce a majority of passive and conforming citizens who are able to take orders but who dare not or are not able to raise questions and participate in decision-making and problem-solving.

Our experience so far suggests that a possible alternative is to break up the segmentation of subjects and to work on more open task structures. The students of the electronic class have demonstrated that if given relevant problems (which are always taken from working life) and the freedom to search into it (i.e. the tasks are open) they are even able to produce quite new solutions.

The projects at the commercial school point to the problems of change. When change is contemplated, the previous learning process must be taken into consideration. Somehow the ability to use freedom does not seem to result from the command: "Be free!"

The relationship between working life and school is basically different in the two cases. The electronic case is nearly an ideal one, conditions being the best. Experience with the commercial school indicates that our general ideas might have some relevance even in a quite formal and restricted setting where the structuring of tasks and the relations between subjects seem essential. The similarity of the cases lies in the fact that the learning process has been somewhat turned around. The pupils begin with a totality, an open and often quite comprehensive problem. The necessary skills and specific methods have to be learned as highly closed tasks; but they are extracted from the totality and learned in context (often in very traditional ways) when this becomes necessary for the students to get on with the problem-solving process.

Relations between working life and the school might of course be very similar even with a closed task structure, provided it were programmed. To maintain such relations it would however be difficult to continue with the segmentation of subjects. It is not easy to do sensible work in periods of 45 minutes with different contents in each period. Of course interdisciplinarity could be programmed, and the time schedule designed differently.

A change of task structure in school indicates a change in role relations, so that pupils become more responsible problem-solvers - and even posers - and the teacher more of a resource to the group, with the opportunity to learn along with the pupils. The role of the administration would be that of a gate-keeper, one who provides the learning group with conditions for autonomous work - rather than prescribing and controlling. The teachers would be more able to work as teams, learning more from each other, rather than being isolated. I believe the relationship between the participants of school is basic to the quality of the learning process. If the learning process is to back up the democratisation processes in the world of work and society as a whole to help prevent deterioration of the qualities of human life, this process should be kept open.

It also must be kept in mind that school is not the only candidate for change in society, maybe not even the most important one. A better relationship between school and the world of work can hardly be expected if the trend of separating homes and workplaces is extended. One does not learn much about working life growing up in a suburb consisting of schools, a supermarket, some service institutions and inhabited mainly by kids, retired people and women.

In what directions relations should develop between school and the rest of the working world heavily depends on the quality of this life at work - how and where, for example, work places are organised, run and located. This, of course, (if I may return to my opening words) is basically a political question.

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# 5. THE CONSEQUENCES OF PARTICIPATION

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## Synopsis

This paper argues that "participation" describes a consensual social process of change in education involving many groups with interlocking relationships. Since this involves changing fundamental aspects of contemporary systems of education, its consequences can only be understood in relation to a comprehensive theory of education. For this purpose a temporal theory of education is presented.

While this theory does not lead to a normative view of education, it defines certain limiting conditions attached to a learning environment as well as role patterns for teachers, students and the community. These are viewed as setting limits for change through participation.

To understand the operation of participation arrangements, the concept of ss/tt systems of instruction (for students/teachers) is introduced as the typical form of interaction between students and teachers in modern, large, formal institutions of education. ss/tt is viewed as a large group interaction paradigm as opposed to traditional small group paradigms of education.

The practicability of ss/tt instruction is then discussed. It can be effective only in the presence of a full supplementary "extra curriculum":

- Students must engage in peer group contacts outside the classroom which are not all opposed to what is happening inside.
- Students must experience direct personal relationships with adult role models.
- Students must have opportunity for individual reflection.
- There must be a supportive home environment (particularly at a younger age).

Participation deals with this "extra curriculum", making it manifest and accessible to influence. Its most important consequences can be summarized as follows:

1. Most schemes for participation will lead to giving formal recognition, directly or indirectly, to elements of the educational process which have previously occurred informally.

2. Participation will tend to make manifest the motivation of the participants in the educational process. Curricula or other school procedures can then be designed which respond more directly to the needs of students, teachers or the school's communities; it is assumed that these interests are not irreconcilably conflicting.
3. Participation will tend to reduce the importance of ss/tt formats of education, changing definitions of quality, affecting standards and all subsidiary related matters. This is frequently a source of conflict in dealing with participation arrangements.
4. Participation arrangements make it possible to develop new educational roles over a flexible spectrum, decreasing overall role antagonism but also reducing the importance of any one role. It is directly opposed to tendencies towards professionalisation.
5. Certain forms of participation will vitally affect the economics of schools. It is argued that while schools will become harder to administer, they will also becomed economically more effective.

## I WHO PARTICIPATES - WHY, HOW, AND IN WHAT?

### 1. Participation

In recent years "participation" has become a catchword in the educational debate of many countries. Inevitably, many different things have come to be understood under this word. Its usefulness, and its danger, lies in the fact that it is not susceptible to any one unambiguous definition. Even prisoners can be said to participate in their prison life, and students at a free school can legitimately complain about the lack of opportunities for participation. We need to realise that participation is a consensual, situational term: it can be taken to mean different things in different situations and we must consequently redefine what we mean by "participation" whenever we reintroduce the word.

This paper will deal primarily with participatory interactions within the school and between the school and its immediate communities, with the changing of relationships between institutional representatives (teachers, administrators) and "community" representatives (parents, politicians, interest groups, community resource persons) and their effect, particularly on the one group which belongs both to the school and to the community, the students. To do so, we must first attempt to define which of the many kinds of participation are germane to our discussion and which are not.

Several attempts have been made to sort out the terminology of participation  Distinctions can be drawn between participatory education - where participation is an educational goal in itself - and participation in education - where education is something that pre-exists whatever participation that may take place (Hayward 1973; von Moltke 1973); between democratising education (Habermas 1970), introducing school democracy, student democracy (Jørgenson 1973), community control (Fantini 1970) and co-determination (Bericht 1973), meaning a wide variety of arrangements in school governance ranging from parent-teacher associations to decision-making in a school assembly and including almost every form of representative, elected, appointed, direct or delegated form of involving students and their parents in decisions ranging from the hiring and firing of teachers to the most absurd details of everyday school life; between education in the community, community education and community involvement in education with parents, teachers, students, "community leaders" and varieties of other people in different degrees of participation activation and with widely differing notions of whether the school should act on the community or vice versa or both. It is impossible to establish a working definition of participation from such piecemeal approaches

The following distinctions are not meant to be normative, nor is any initial attempt being made to decide what constitutes "real" participation, and what does not. As we have argued, that is a meaningless question. These distinctions are designed to allow general discussion of the possible forms of participation, and in particular, of their interdependence. We will ask four major questions:

1. *Who participates*? Groups who are subjects of participation include *students*, *teachers*, *administrators* and a given school's *communities* (meaning students' parents; community institutions; decision-making bodies; local industry; interest groups). In a passive manner one might also consider a school's environment, viewed as a resource or as an obstacle, as an element of participation.
2. *Why do they participate*? Motivation for participation varies from an expectation of regular information to an expectation of ultimate control, with many intermediate steps.
3. *How do they participate*? Participation can be *direct* or by some form of *representation*, or delegation, *active* or *passive*.
4. *In what do they participate*? Participation can occur at the *action* or at the *policy* level. By action level in an educational environment we mean strictly the actual activities of teaching and learning, their preparation, execution and direct

follow-up, as the ultimate goal and justification of any educational institution. Curriculum development - an activity on the borderline between action and policy - is considered to belong to the action level only insofar as it is directed at an individually identifiable target group. By policy level we mean all formally recognised influences on the action level, including teacher conferences, school boards, boards of trustees, administrative authorities, law making bodies and recognised interest groups such as teachers or student unions or employers' associations attempting to affect the course of education as well as curriculum development for generalised groups.

These distinctions offer virtually limitless opportunities for combination, and as a matter of fact, experiments have been tried with almost every conceivable arrangement. It would be fruitless to attempt an analysis of all combinations, nor does it make sense to restrict ourselves to specific ones if we are to consider the effects of participation in general, particularly since these are in turn subject to countless situational variations. We must proceed in three steps: first we must consider the interrelationship of various forms of participation; then we will develop a theory of education which defines both the limits of participation and its operation; finally we can consider the special case of the consequences of participation in school-community relations.

## 2. The interdependence of modes of participation

Thus far, we have defined an amorphous field for discussion relating to participation. We can now make an initial restriction by pointing out that the ultimate test of participation arrangements is their effect at the action level. Policy formation should not become an end in itself, and to the extent that participation arrangements require more time and energy to be devoted to matters of policy formation this can only be justified in terms of its effect at the action level. This truism has given rise to the "diversion of energies" argument against increasing participation of anybody not currectly involved in policy formation. This argument is flawed in two regards:

- it assumes that current arrangements for policy formation lead to policies which are optimal for the action level; obviously this assumption is subject to challenge and it can be argued that devoting more energies to better policy formation will lead to better action, even if this involves some reallocation of energy;

- more importantly, it assumes that education is a zero sum game in the sense that the current division of energies (whatever that may be) is optimal, and any redistribution of effort from action to policy levels will mean a decrease in effort at the action level exactly corresponding to the increase at the policy level.

A further argument against participation arrangements can be considered here, because of its inherent similarity to the foregoing one, and because it leads us one step forward in our argument; it is sometimes argued that increasing the input of one group will necessarily decrease the input of another. Again, the assumption of a zero sum game is involved. In this instance, however, the interplay of policy and action levels is more clearly visible:

- Insofar as increasing participation at the policy level of previously uninvolved groups means decreasing the ability of those previously involved to influence decisions, the objection is valid to the extent that it describes a political situation in which different groups are vying for influence. It remains to be asked whether such a redistribution is not in fact desirable (this was the crux of the decentralisation dispute in New York City some years ago - Fantini 1970). It also remains to be seen whether changes in participation can be restricted to the policy level.
- Insofar as increasing parent participation, to take one example, means that teachers "will have to spend more time with parents and less with students" this is merely a reformulation of the previous objection (in section III. I. below we will show why spending more time with parents and less with students may indeed be construed as a better use of a teacher's time).
- Insofar as a change in participation at the action level is envisaged (introducing parents into the classroom, changing student roles, or using the community as a resource, for example) it is manifest that education is not a zero sum game, that more persons can indeed participate so long as their roles are not redundant.

The notion of redundancy (coined by Arthur Chickering 1969) turns out to be critical in any restructuring of education. Chickering postulates that, as an educational setting grows, specialisation increases, a larger absolute number derives increasing benefit from the institution but represents a progressively smaller proportion of the total population. The fate of the remainder can be described as redundancy: experiencing roles which do not provide access to meaningful participation in the life of the institution. While

Chickering applied his hypothesis of redundancy to individuals, this can be equally applied to settings.

All of these comments seem to suggest that participation is not a matter of simply bringing in some extra people, but that it also implies changes, far-reaching and subtle, in the way those already recognised as participants in the schools will be able to work. As a matter of fact, we postulate that non-redundant changes in the level of participation between various groups at any level will always also affect the relationship of all other interacting groups at all other levels.

This is a far-reaching claim but on closer examination it turns out to be almost self-evident. It is almost axiomatic that greater participation by students in their own education requires an open environment and encourages participation by other groups (Von Moltke 1973; Kozol 1972; Jørgenson 1973). Not quite so evident is the fact that increasing community participaiion at a policy level will equally affect relationships within the school, but it becomes reasonably clear as soon as we realise that participation at a policy level is designed to affect the action level, since policy-making should not become a goal in itself. To understand in what way this will occur we must first attempt to understand the processes at the action level in such a way as to recognise the operation of changes in participation.

## II. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF PARTICIPATION

### 1. A temporal theory of instruction

A critical question, in many respects the critical question, in dealing with changes in the levels of participation of various groups is whether these changes are designed to break down role differences or to make persons more effective in their various roles. Occasionally, advocates of participation appear to be striving to abolish student, teacher, community and administrative roles. One of the basic premises of this paper is that in any educational process students, teachers and their communities participate by virtue of their respective roles and that it is impossible to abolish these roles, since without them education is meaningless and ineffective.

Roles are not suits of armour - there are ignorant, incompetent teachers and there are students who do more effective teaching among their peers - for better and for worse - than any of their instructors. Even good teachers are not always good teachers, nor do they pretend to be. There are meddlesome communities that involve themselves in what goes on in educational institutions for short term or political ends (cf. Salisbury 1969 for a discussion of this issue). Moreover, it is possible to obscure the boundaries between roles and to ease transitions. In fact, in many situations this offers significant advantages. Nevertheless, the roles of students, teachers and their communities, describing their dominant relationship are real and ultimately cannot be negated.

The most common description of the respective roles of students, teachers and their communities is given by socialisation theory: teachers are viewed as the agents of society in transmitting the dominant values to a new generation. We will instead develop a temporal theory of instruction which can serve to manifest the roles of participants in the educational process as well as give some insight into instructional forms. It has the added advantage of representing an approach to an analysis of roles in educational institutions apart from the traditional alternatives of harmony and conflict. We will develop a system of mutual dependence, in which harmony and conflict can equally be viewed as depressions of mutual dependence. This is important to our further discussion, since a conflict model of education necessarily leads to a rejection of participation. It is generally overlooked that a harmony model has the same effect since it leads to the expectation that participation will eliminate conflict, which participation neither can nor should achieve. Patently false positive expectations are no more a basis for change than false negative ones. (The following is based on Rosenstock-Huessy 1951)

A learning environment is characterised by the suspension of real time and its consequences. Normally, we act on the future in the present in an attempt to renew or to change the past. If we do not act we become victims of the future, but when we act this has repercussions which prove irreversible to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the importance of the action. Real time is characterised by the fact that actions in the present have identifiable, irreversible consequences. The suspension of real time in an educational environment is achieved by eliminating the present and the consequences of actions in it, a process most clearly reflected in the doctrine of academic freedom but actually underlying all teaching activity wherever it occurs. This does not mean that teaching and learning have no consequences, nor that teachers cannot be held responsible for what they teach; it means that teaching has no immediate nor irreversible consequences, only indeterminate future ones, that all teaching is ultimately irrelevant to present reality, concerned primarily with the future. Learning implies the right to make mistakes and not to be held fully responsible.

As the common, almost hackneyed saying goes, we never stop learning. There is however, an underlying fallacy when this argument is used in an attempt to assuage students' very real and justified sense of constraint and subordination. Students are indeed in a situation which is different from that of most other "learners". While it is to be assumed that we all learn from our experiences, we are here discussing the curious phenomenon of institutionalised learning in a special social environment, a learning environment which is unlike any other social institution

Learning from teachers is before the fact. What is said and done in the classroom may or may not have consequences in some as yet unforeseen future. If learning is before the fact, teaching is after the fact: teachers teach what they have already learned or experienced, whereby it is immaterial whether this learning took place five minutes or five centuries before: its test lies in its future applicability outside the classroom, in the use that students make or do not make of what they have been taught. This indicates that the elimination of present reality allows the telescoping of past and future into the microcosm of the learning environment. (Rosenstock-Huessy 1970)

It is true that some things are best learnt by being done, these are not the really important issues, and very often they are indirectly subject to important protections which transform them from reality into a kind of experiment with limited impact upon the experiments. For example, in the case of an apprentice, the master still assumes responsibility for the consequences of their work. The really important events of life and death, war and peace cannot be exercised except with reduced responsibility, which is tantamount to an exclusion of present reality. Very often so-called practice situations actually benefit from the protection of a learning environment, they are in fact experiments and the participants are free to acknowledge their consequences or to reject them; they also include the freedom to make mistakes, a freedom not granted to persons who are assumed to be acting responsibly. Not only is teaching irrelevant, but students have the right to be irresponsible as long as they do not confuse their learning process with reality.

Confusing learning with reality has often given rise to problems between schools and their communities when the schools have ventured out of the classroom into the community for practice-oriented projects. The difficulties have lain on both sides: communities have reacted too quickly and too sharply to activities which were only tentative or experimental, equating them with "the real thing" and reacting as they would towards comparable actions by any group of citizens. Members of the school, on the other hand, have tended to forget that their actions outside the school may be subject to "normal" sanctions whenever they threaten to have irreversible consequences in the community, and that these sanctions are defined politically and not on the basis of the standards which may obtain within the school. When a school becomes the base for community development, it will be subject to exactly the same pressures as any other institution which attempts to transform a community. Too often somebody is left thinking that because the institution happens to be a school, it will enjoy special privileges in an arena which is subject to political (in the sense of publicly defined, validated and maintained) standards rather than educational ones.

In general it should be remembered that the community which supports a school's pollution-study project does so also because it is politically acceptable, not only because of its educational value; and the same community may impose vigorous, sometimes vicious sanctions when the school, or a teacher or a student becomes involved in matters outside the classroom which are considered politically, socially or legally reprehensible. If a school decides that it must nevertheless engage in such activities (as it sometimes legitimately may), it must be aware of the necessity to defend them not merely on educational grounds but through all the activities normally associated with political persuasion.

In the "artificial" situation of the learning environment, teachers and students are assigned clear temporal valencies: the teacher represents the past (not the present as most socialisation theories implicitly assume), the student represents the future. The political life of the community is the correlate of the present - it provides the necessary protection of the learning environment by allowing it the exclusion of present reality; but it also sets limits on the amount of freedom allowed. These temporal relationships are irreversible: the teacher is confronted by the reality of his own limited life-span and the necessity to find successors; the student is limited by his lack of experience - unless he finds a referent of the past, he will be condemned to reinvent the wheel. While this may on occasions be a rational didactic approach in general there in not enough time for that in any one person's life.

It should perhaps be emphasized that none of this implies a particular theory of expertise: persons lacking in identifiable expertise can be teachers (both to the good and to the bad) and students can be accomplished in the sense of this theory without having acquired any given form of expertise. All of our definitions of expertise are partial and secondary in comparison to the basic relationships of teaching and learning.

In addition to being the formal realisation of temporal relationships, the protected learning environment has the added advantage of saving time. Because of the exclusion of present reality, it is possible to compress large bodies of time and extensive bodies of experience into very small periods of instruction. In real time, certain actions require certain amounts of time, defined by social, legal or physical necessity. In a learning environment, this requirement has been eliminated and it is possible to expand or to contract the amount of time devoted to a given subject almost at will. The disjointedness of the learning experience, usually running for many brief periods distributed over several weeks, months or even years, is no hindrance, since the unity of experience is maintained as long as the social group is intact. Events in a period or course of instruction are largely interchangeable over time, since they are assumed not yet to have had any consequences (this is vividly demonstrated in the teaching of Socrates, one of the first to have fatally confused teaching and learning with reality. Socrates repeatedly leads his students up a wrong path in the secure knowledge that he can yet correct whatever false impressions may have been created, to the point of abusing the privilege - cf. Rosenstock-Huessy 1957).

An important element in the relationship between teacher and student is the stability of that relationship. If a course has not been completed in one period, it can continue next time where it left off, but to do so one must be able to rely on the presence of the students. Consequently, the maintenance of a learning environment requires the added element of some minimum predictability. The problem of maintaining predictability (continuity) is one of the main difficulties of many educational experiments involving participation (Jørgenson 1973; Kozol 1972). Established systems of education on the other hand have to cope with the problem that the necessity of maintaining temporal predictability in any given setting often leads to establishing uniformity for many settings in different places at different times. This concept of predictability does not, however, imply that any set amount of time be available. It is important to know how much time there is, not that any given amount of time is available. Some of the most important things can be taught in five minutes, and it is possible teach the most trivial matter for months on end.

On the basis of the preceding discussion, we postulate three characteristics of a learning environment which explain its effectiveness and the reasons for its existence:

- it is irrelevant, that is allows learning by mistakes;
- it is a realisation of the temporal relationships of society;
- it saves time.

All of these characteristics depend on the suspension of real time.

The suspension of real time plays a vital role in the economics of formal institutions of education: while teaching takes time, it takes much less time than experiencing. It also takes much less time than is commonly assumed. Schools only function because a student can get an education from remarkably few constructive learning experiences. One good period of instruction can give meaning to hour and hours, sometimes even to years of seemingly meaningless grind. A student probably derives the greater part of his active knowledge from a small proportion of his formal learning activities. This is true independently of his ability to reproduce certain materials on demand. Schools have a dreadful tendency to pretend that all things should be equally important to all people, while they actually survive by virtue of the fact that all of the things they are doing may actually be important to some people.

In the long run, what is important about a student's activity is not only what he learns but equally what he rejects, what he refuses to perpetuate. Selectively refusing to learn is an educational activity, whether it is conscious or not. It certainly cannot and should not be entirely eliminated. This notion of a student's responsibility to sort out what he learns, his right not to learn, assigns him an active role beyond that of recipient of some kind of expertise, and links up with motivation theory. If we knew better what a student might be prepared to learn, we might be in a position to reduce the amount of waste inherent in any learning environment This is one of the major goals of any participation arrangement, whether for students or for other groups, and is an important justification for arguing that in certain instances less may indeed be more. Two particular kinds of participation arrangements are designed more or less explicitly with this in mind: by allowing students to participate in the formulation of their own educational goals one hopes to reduce the amount of unnecessary activity and by involving students in the community one establishes a measure of immediate applicability which will tend to increase student commitment.

From a purely theoretical point of view, one might attempt to achieve a situation where a student is only offered (taught) what he is motivated to learn To move in this general direction makes sense only, however, if there is not a minimum curriculum which a student must learn, and if one can rely on a student's motivation as a sole guide to education. Neither assumption appears to be valid.

## 2. Is there a minimum curriculum?

The theory as developed thus far postulates the elimination of present reality as a prerequisite for an instructional environment.

Obviously, this prerequisite can be fulfilled by degrees. There are times - public celebrations, wars, revolutions - where the suspension of present reality cannot be justified by any means. In such situations, the very existence of educational institutions is subject to doubt. The perfect construct of an environment totally shielded from present reality could come to resemble a prison before very long. Schools are social institutions subject to influence and change (we said above that the community defines the limits of its schools' freedom, not that it provides unlimited licence). They are, to a substantial degree, institutions designed to protect the individual learning environemnt of the classroom; and they are generally quite effective in doing so. Nevertheless, the degree of mutual dependence and influence between a school and its communities is a matter for constant negotiation. The shape of the future community is often at issue in conflicts between schools and their communities, and the students are the ultimate goal and arbiter of these disputes.

As late as the 18th century, educational theorists in Europe maintained that it was undesirable to teach people more than they needed to maintain their relative station in life, and that some people should not be given any formal education at all (Herrlitz, 1973). The notion that all citizens have a right to a certain minimum education stems from the French revolution, and the notion that all citizens have a right to the maximum amount of education they are capable of is essentially a phenomenon of the second half of the 20th century. Only recently have industrial societies developed to the point where a citizen cannot effectively exercise his rights unless he has attained a certain level of education. While it is fair to say that literacy has become a universal minimum requirement of citizenship, this is a very recent phenomenon and states have assiduously avoided putting this fact into legislation. In most advanced countries, the stage has been reached where literacy alone is not enough: anybody who is incapable of mastering elementary concepts of science or of understanding the workings of complex social systems will ultimately find himself at the mercy of the society he is part of. Acquiring a minimum level of education can no longer be viewed as a matter of choice.

All of these skills have traditionally been imparted by schools, and the schools have understandably been made the prime vehicle for conferring them. This has, however, established a relationship between the school and society which somewhat deviates from the postulates of our theory of instruction. The school has been entrusted with the task of securing a minimum level of education for all citizens as a requirement of society, raising the question as to the legitimate means for doing so.

Our theory, just like any other theory of instruction not based on a bowdlerization of B.F. Skinner's theories, clearly implies that no person can be forced to learn But just how far may one go in trying to cajole people into learning? Where does persuasion for the good of the student end and illegitimate force begin? Only in this century have educational institutions been faced with the necessity of deciding on legitimate means of teaching unwilling students. Previously, education was not a right but a privilege (Lettera 1967), and consequently educational institutions felt free to impose their methods of instruction on their students and to expel those who would not conform. This assured a fairly high degree of congruence between students' motivation and the schools' activities; at least schools did not have to bother about motivation: this was largely a matter for parents and more indirect means of social sanction. Only when the option to expel does not exist or is limited need schools pay attention to student motivation. The methods of instruction are much the same today as fifty years ago, but the relationship of the school to the pupil has changed in that the institution now has an obligation to the pupil to motivate him to learn. Schools have consequently had to face the question of what is the most effective way to teach a minimum curriculum, or, to be more exact, they should have faced this question but generally have not.

## 3. Modes of teaching and learning

What, indeed, are the ways in which one can teach? It is common practice to talk about the student/teacher relationship, intimating that there exists a one-to-one relationship between the individual students and the individual teachers. In reality this is no longer the case in many schools. Individual teachers commonly deal with many students in many different groups at the same time, and individual students are confronted with several teachers simultaneously. Since education takes place outside real time the sequential nature of these relationships is largely negated. The common experience in modern institutions of education is not one of student/teacher relationships but of students/teachers relationships. We will abbreviate this particular phenomenon as ss/tt learning.

In contrast, there actually do exist meaningful one-to-one relationships between individual students and individual teachers, even in large complex educational institutions. We shall denote these m/a relationships (for master/apprentice). A critical difference between ss/tt and m/a relationships is that the latter require a certain degree of mutual consensus, whereas the former can still be maintained formally under one-sided coercion. As a rule of thumb one can assume that as educational institutions grow beyond a certain threshhold size, the absolute number of possible m/a relationships continues to increase, but proportionately ss/tt relationships come to dominate the environment (Chickering 1969).

The increase in the size of educational systems, combined with the increase in the size of individual institutions has led to a dramatic increase in ss/tt relationships over the last fifty years. But this change represents the conclusion of a gradual trend. Originallly all instruction was through m/a relationships. It was rapidly discovered that the maintenance of such relationships did not require a student/teacher ratio of 1:1 but that one teacher could maintain liaison with a fairly large number of students, particularly if the relationship was formalized through classroom instruction and certain mutually accepted coercive measures to regulate communication between teacher and student were adopted. The next stage in this development was the sub-division of the curriculum and the introduction of several teachers while still maintaining the basic forms of formalised m/a relationships. Ultimately, students were typed by age and grouped accordingly. Thus a transition was made from m/a forms to ss/tt without any conscious change in paradigm. The essential difference between ss/tt and m/a relationships is not a matter of class size alone; it is a question of attitude, both of the teacher and the student, of the form of the existing consensus and of the ability to establish open-ended mutual communication. The question is whether ss/tt is an effective means of teaching a required curriculum, or any curriculum for that matter. There are a number of considerations to be taken into account:

1. ss/tt instruction is a form of division of labour: as long as we define our curricula and our concepts of expertise in terms which imply division of labour, it cannot be entirely eliminated.
2. There is a change in expectation on the part of students which corresponds to the division of labour on the part of teachers. Since teachers cannot be expected to teach all subjects, students are no longer seriously expected to retain all they are taught in every subject. Consequently, education has taken on an increasingly indeterminate character, since students are no longer expected to master a full catalogue of skills to attain maturity, but are offered a variety of possible areas of choice after they have mastered a minimum initial curriculum. ss/tt instruction accurately reflects this indeterminacy.

3. ss/tt reduces the impact of personality on teaching, allowing greater standardization of instruction. As long as equality of opportunity is defined as exposing all students to more or less the same experience, ss/tt has strong philosophical advantages.
4. The very impersonality of ss/tt in comparison to m/a is an advantage when schools are required to retain students irrespective of success or failure. It is probably more than the average teacher can bear to maintain any kind of close personal relationship with large numbers of failing students, particularly since the student's failure and the teacher's sense of personal failure are closely related.
5. The growth of educational systems has not only meant that schools have been required to retain failing students somewhere in the system but also that they have had to accept teachers who were less than optimally effective. This is an often overlooked aspect of the situation. To put it differently: a certain measure of mediocrity is inevitable when very large numbers of teachers are all being measured against a uniform standard. ss/tt instruction is a protection against the consequences of necessary mediocrity.
6. ss/tt instruction increases the total amount of contacts between students and teachers, theoretically increasing the chance that students will somewhere encounter at least one teacher suited to their disposition. Since modern systems of education rely on this kind of wastage, they are closely linked to ss/tt instruction. As a matter of fact, this aspect of ss/tt instruction holds true only if a number of further conditions are met in the immediate environment of the student since otherwise redundancy increases proportionately more rapidly than opportunity. In this observation there is a potent argument for participation arrangements as a supplement to ss/tt institutions.
7. There are certain kinds of material which lend themselves to ss/tt instruction particularly well This is true of general theoretical subject matters, and consequently most intermediate instruction is in this format. Matters of method and practice lend themselves more readily to m/a forms, and consequently both elementary subjects and advanced research training tend to take place in this paradigm. To some extent, the use of ss/tt instruction has proven self-reinforcing. Since surface perturbation can largely be avoided, it lends itself particularly well to systematic exposition of subject matters. Consequently, we

have come to believe that certain subject matters can only be thus presented, since they have always been presented in this form.

All of these observations combine to indicate that ss/tt instruction is in some instances unavoidable. In respect to certain kinds of subject matter it has even come to seem desirable. Furthermore, some persons can learn and teach in ss/tt situations more readily than others but there is presently no way of predicting this. To some extent, therefore, the shot-gun approach of ss/tt teaching which characterises most schools is justified: if one is forced to deal with an heterogeneous population, as public schools are, all one can do is expose everybody to a wide variety of experiences and hope that there will be something in them for each individual. On a large scale, this can only be done through the ss/tt format.

This should not, however, be construed as justifying the excesses of most school systems which have come to identify ss/tt instruction with education itself. They have convinced themselves that if students can be forced to give the appearance of accepting the formal process they will indeed have somehow been educated against their will.

Education is a much more complex process than is usually recognized in school curricula, involving a spectrum of activities outside the formal curriculum. Given the necessity for complex, comprehensive systems of public education to employ ss/tt instruction to some extent if they are to expose their students to even the most elemental opportunity to learn, it still needs to be said that ss/tt instruction is meaningless.

- unless students are engaged in peer group contacts outside the classroom which are not all in direct contradiction to what is happening inside;
- unless students experience m/a relationships besides their formalised ss/tt instruction;
- unless students have the opportunity of individual reflection;
- unless (particularly at a younger age) there exists a supportive home environment.

The best measure of this "extra curriculum" is social class, since it defines a student's access to reinforcing peer group relationships, to adult models, and most often his scope for individual reflection as well as the nature of his home environment. Recent studies have confirmed that this element of a student's education is even more important than the school environment in which he experiences ss/tt instruction.

Arguably, ss/tt forms of instruction have worked thus far wherever the necessary support functions are secured. On the other hand, where the necessary background is not present, ss/tt instruction is bound to be a frustrating, essentially fruitless endeavour. This observation leads to the inevitable conclusion that schools must be different depending on the socio-economic background of their students. In other words, every school must in some way reflect the characteristics of the community it serves. Exactly in which way it should do so is a matter of paramount concern for the educational debate. Our approach to theoretical problems of education supports the view that to achieve some measure of equality of educational opportunity it will certainly not suffice to offer the same schools to all communities.

At root, all arguments about the relationship of schools to their communities are arguments about the socio-economic background of the schools' students. As long as the complementary activities of ss/tt instruction are assured, and ss/tt instruction is not arrogating a disproportionate importance to itself, it is unnecessary to adjust the curriculum of the schools.

It hardly needs to be argued that many schools in industrialised countries currently have to do with communities which do not assure the four conditions above, and that in virtually all schools the formal aspects of the curriculum have been over-emphasized. Unless one is willing to use this as a working assumption there is no real need to consider the consequences of participation, the schools are doing beautifully, and one should not exert great effort to change something that is functioning well, except perhaps to make it just a little bit better. On the assumption, however, that there is a problem of imbalance towards ss/tt instruction, there are two basic strategies for dealing with this problem:

- Decreasing the role of formal education directly (deschooling);
- Giving recognition to the informal elements of the learning process (various forms of participation)

Both strategies can be used in a complementary fashion. They both are designed to have the ultimate effect of decreasing the impact of success or failure in ss/tt settings of education on people's lives. While the former strategy assumes that a natural process of self and community education still exists, or at least can be resurrected, the latter is more sceptical, and assumes that some degree of structure should be given to these informal processes. Both strategies have their peculiar pitfalls. Deschooling runs the risk of transferring important aspects of social decision-making into a realm of greater unpredictability. In particular, there is the very distinct possibility that it will tend to reinforce the impact of social background on a person's chances for success by removing the system of instruction without putting anything in its place. Participation arrangements run the risk of destroying what they are trying to preserve by giving it too narrow a construction in the interests of making it manageable and predictable. Nevertheless it offers at least the theoretical hope of affecting the impact of social class on a student's life by bringing some of its effects out into the open.

## III. THE CONSEQUENCES OF PARTICIPATION

The previous discussion has been necessary so as to create an overall frame of reference within which to understand the consequences of participation. We have tried to establish various forms of participation, to discuss the roles of participants in the educational process in such a way as to be able to set limits on participation, and to introduce various informal patterns of education, so as to be able to describe the operation of participation. In discussing the consequences of participation, we will try to limit ourselves, insofar as possible, to those consequences which have to do with the relationship of the school to its communities, momentarily disregarding the equally important forms of participation within the school, in spite of the fact that these are, as we have argued, closely interrelated.

Our discussion of the consequences of participation will cover five general areas in which participation arrangements can have significant impact:

1. Most schemes for participation will lead to giving formal recognition, indirectly or directly, to elements of the educational process which have previously occurred informally.
2. Participation will tend to make manifest the motivation of the participants in the educational process, thus making it possible to make them more effective in their roles. Curricula or other school procedures can then be designed that respond more directly to the needs of students, teachers, or the school's communities; it is assumed that these interests are not irreconcilably conflicting.
3. Participation arrangements make it possible to develop new educational roles over a flexible spectrum decreasing overall antagonism.
4. Participation will tend to reduce the importance of ss/tt formats of education.
5. Certain forms of participation will vitally affect the economics of schools.

Before discussing the effects of participation under these several headings, it needs to be pointed out that these effects are interlocking - they cannot be viewed as alternatives, among which it is possible to choose at will. They are part of a comprehensive social process we have here called participation, involving the schools, their teachers and students, and their respective communities. It is most certainly a local phenomenon in the sense that it involves only those geographically proximate. The interdependence of these effects needs to be kept in mind, since not all of them may necessarily be viewed as desirable (there is a "price" to be paid for putative advantages) and because in polemic discussions there is a tendency to emphasize only those aspects which happen to suit one's interests.

### 1. Giving recognition to informal processes of education

It may not be immediately apparent how participation procedures tend to give recognition to informal processes of education. The current view of educational institutions is built on a number of important abstractions focused on the teacher as transmitter of knowledge, evaluator of achievement, and representative of some higher ethic embodied in the search for truth and the rules and regulations of Ministry. Consequently, all efforts to control education have been directed towards controlling the teacher, and only through him the student. This view is quite congruent with the formalised curriculum which has been adopted and but slightly adapted from schools of the nineteenth century. Introducing persons who do not necessarily share an unambiguous relationship to these abstractions into either the policy or the action level of education will certainly tend to perturb the existing system. It will also mean that students can no longer be content to take their cues from (or manifest their opposition to) the teachers, they must respond to their peers, their parents and their communities also while in school At the same time, the school will be in a position to influence the parents and the community in a variety of heretofore unexplored ways. It too can no longer be content to operate on the students through the teachers. Consequently the scope of the formally recognised activities is widened far beyond the limits of the traditional formal curriculum.

#### a) Peer group contacts

Very often, students are considered to be participating in their education simply because they are students Since most education involves a certain amount of coercion of the student, by law and by social pressures, this is not a self-evident proposition. We have discussed above that there may be situations in which it is legitimate and even desirable to coerce the student into doing something he may not immediately want; but even then it is necessary that the student acquiesce in his own coercion. Peer group influences play an important role in this regard, and by establishing avenues for student participation, both at the action and at the policy level, but preferably in direct rather than representational forms, it becomes possible to identify the direction in which such influence is going, and in certain situations to act on it. Peer group influence is obviously not necessarily a beneficial influence from the point of view of the school.

In the area of student participation there is a multiplicity of schemes originating from the action level designed primarily to make the internal functioning of the school more effective. We need not discuss these schemes or their effects here. It is, however, necessary to re-emphasize the fact that such schemes (the "open classroom" is the best known of them) can only succeed if they have the support of the parents. In other words: while the arrangement itself theoretically does not require any change in the relationship of a school to its communities, it usually ends up doing so in practice.

In the area of student participation there is, however, a further unexplored realm with important repercussions on the relationship of the school to its communities: the use of pupils as teachers. Obviously, students are constantly learning from one another This is a particularly important function within the framework of ss/tt institutions, since the sorting out process by which students retain or do not retain certain materials is heavily influenced by such peer group activities. It is possible to make arrangements for the use of students as teachers, both formally and informally. Again, the open classroom is a particularly good example for this kind of development, since more advanced students will constantly be employed in teaching their younger classmates in a variety of direct and indirect ways. To be effective, such an arrangement requires giving up the principle that students of equal competence are always instructed together; as a matter of fact it creates a positive requirement to assure that an adequate range of competence is represented in any one group to allow subgroups to function effectively even in the temporary absence of the teacher.

This in itself leads to subtle changes in the relationships between school and community: it reduces the number of selection decisions the school can make; it changes the relationship of the teacher to the student, and consequently affects the status of the teacher in the community; in particular it means that parents are forced to ascertain the progress of their children substantively and not formally: previously, a parent could restrict himself to controlling test scores, grades, and promotions from one class to another. In a school with some measure of student participation, parents have to ascertain in specific terms of acquired knowledge or skills, or through direct, fairly continuous contact with the school, the progress of their children. In addition, such participatory ventures generally require the structuring of classes into sub-groups with considerable autonomy. Since the teachers can no longer be present with all groups at all times, there is a strong incentive towards admitting other adult resource persons to the classroom, or transferring a certain amount of authority to students. Furthermore, such sub-groups will have a tendency towards project-orientation, ultimately leading them out of the classroom into the community, which in turn creates the necessity for a whole chain of subsidiary contacts with community groups and resource people.

This chain of interdependence has been developed as a practical illustration of the interlocking characteristics of apparently quite distinct forms of participation, whose common denominator is simply that they create scope for influencing the educational process for people and groups not formerly able to do so. In the situation described, the goal of greater student participation, which seemingly can be accomplished within the school, ends up requiring important changes in teacher roles, and involving groups not previously present in the classroom at all.

b) m/a relationships

We are not yet fully aware of the differences between ss/tt and m/a instruction, if only because we have continued to attempt to understand the working of ss/tt in terms of m/a alone. The differences between m/a and ss/tt become particularly apparent when considering their relative determinacy: the m/a relationship generally is fruitful in pursuing clearly identifiable goals, whereas when goals are unclear ss/tt relationships are a necessary part of the learning process.

The fostering of m/a relationships differs from all other kinds of participation, in that it represents an activity which has at various times received at least as much protection and sanction as ss/tt environments. This kind of activity may arise when community members are allowed to enter the school as resource persons. It is interesting to note that such community resource people generally feel themselves most at ease in an m/a relationship with clearly defined responsibility, because their role in the educational process, and particularly their relationship to the students, is tangible.

When a school consciously seeks to enlarge the opportunities its students have for m/a relationships, it will soon discover that its internal means are limited and consequently it must try to find help. This does not always mean that community people will actually come to the school. In many instances, m/a relationships can be decentralised, allowing the students to go out into the community. In this way the community becomes part of the school. This is simply not possible in ss/tt instruction which requires the physical institutional framework of the school. Conversely, if and when community people are interested in becoming involved in the schools at an action level and can establish some form of competence, they will normally be employed in increacing the opportunities of students for m/a contacts.

It is different to assess the importance of m/a experiences in the context of the overall learning and growth process of the student. We have stated that m/a instruction was at the origin of all teaching/learning relationships. Consequently one may safely assume that it is possible to provide a complete education through an m/a relationship. This continues to be done, but on a large scale it simply does not appear economical, and with students who are not motivated it does not seem feasible. Nobody knows, however, to what extent one can actually dispense with such ultimately personal contact between students and teacher personalities One used to talk about the importance of examples, but these have gone out of style. There is, of course, in all participatory arrangements, but particularly in m/a relationships, a danger of negative impact. We have pointed out that peer group influence can also be negative. Similarly, m/a relationships make personal characteristics of teacher and student a substantive element of the educational process, and this can always have the effect of giving scope to characteristics one views as negative. ss/tt environments allow us to minimise the personal variations of instruction. But to what extent can one safely depersonalise instruction without affecting the humanity and the sanity of teachers and students? Very often, personal contact with a teacher of average ability and average personal character will have a greater and more beneficial impact, than an impersonal relationship with a teacher of high ability, in respect to ss/tt environments.

c) Individual reflection

There is no way to institutionalise individual reflection. Homework and "study hall" are attempts in this direction, but the very control which is exerted has the effect of forcing the student's activity back into orbit of formal ss/tt situations. A recently promulgated regulation of the Hamburg school authorities clearly illustrates this dilemna: the authorities issued exact guidelines governing the maximum amount of time a student could be required to spend on homework, differentiated by class level. The purpose of the regulation was to stop abuse of homework for disciplinary ends (clearly a coercive measure designed to bolster ss/tt relationships), but in doing so it firmly institutionalises a self-learning process which is unquestionably most effective when it is voluntary and extra-institutional. The debate on this measure brought out two interesting points:

- The school authorities emphasized that they preferred to abolish homework and to have all-day schools but that they did not have the personnel to do so. This would then lead to some kind of "study hall" as a replacement of homework;
- The regulation, and particularly the accompanying statement, were a clear indication that contact had broken down between the schools and the homes of their students. Even in Hamburg, a city publicly committed to increasing participation (albeit initially exclusively at a policy level), the school authorities showed a distinct preference for countering this breakdown by drawing more and more functions into the school itself instead of pursuing the alternate option of trying to find ways of working with the communities in which the schools were located to communicate their concerns and, equally important, to learn more about the constraints under which their students are living.

d) Family support

Several school functions already require co-operation between schools and parents, but increasingly this co-operation is no longer possible. One hears complaints from the schools that parents are not discharging their duties, and complaints from the parents that they are "expected to teach their children themselves" because the school is allegedly not doing its work properly. What actually appears to be happening is that both sides expect the other to be helpful by doing things exactly the same way that they would themselves. Schools tend to expect parents to understand their childrens' curriculum and not to confuse them with "unnecessary" questions; parents expect schools to take on many disciplinary and educative functions which they should properly be discharging. "Sex education" is the most controversial subject in this area, but in many communities truancy is similarly a difficult issue to confront.

In all of these areas functioning lines of communication are becoming indispensable, and this implies some form of participation. It would be an error, however, if such participation took place on the terms of one group or the other exclusively, that is if schools expected parents to participate, but simply to reinforce their concerns, or parents declared themselves willing to participate simply for the sake of getting the schools to do even more things they are ultimately not equipped to handle.

The creation of possibilities for individual reflection and the provision of adequate family support are very much interlocking phenomena. Formal institutions necessarily put a substantial strain on the students, and this is particularly pronounced in the case of ss/tt environments, where students have to cope with complex interpersonal and impersonal relationships at a relatively young age. Without adequate family support they can hardly be expected to do so.

One of the major effects of school/community participation schemes is that families will better understand their roles in the formalised educational processes which are characteristic nowadays. There are a variety of arrangements which all lead to this result. One can bring parents into the schools as visitors; involve parents in school decision-making; establish informal links between parents and teachers; use parents' expertise by involving them as tutors; use parents as aides, both in and outside of school. We need not discuss the relative merits or demerits of each of these schemes. What is important is simply that they will all tend to have the same result: by involving parents in the life of the school they will provide vital support for the students. Again it needs to be emphasized that parental support is not necessarily always beneficial. The dangers of abuse are always present, but they are preferable to the dangers arising form the absence of any involvement; they may be instigated by the interaction of student, parent and school.

## 2. Participation and motivation

### a) Students

Indirectly, the entire preceding discussion has dealt with matters of student motivation: when a student has access to the full "extra curriculum" in a satisfactory manner one may assume that motivational problems will not be a major factor in determining his success or failure within ss/tt instruction. The importance of motivation in learning particularly in ss/tt environments, is universally recognized. According to most studies, student motivation can be affected up to a certain point without adjustment of the actual process of student teacher inter-action through coercion or the threat of coercion or the application of reward systems. Consequently, all schools with ss/tt instruction have applied more or less developed and camouflaged measures of this kind, expulsion being the most drastic of them. Since the advent of compulsory school attendance laws, the ability to expel students has been curtailed, and we are currently witnessing the gradual reduction in schools' ability to transfer students as a punitive measure, both because of the spread of comprehensive schools and because of the application of the basic rules of civil freedom also to students in their relationship to the schools. Consequently, schools have used a large variety of other means of coercion, not all of which are (as we have argued above) intolerable a priori. But recently there has been evidence that certain limits of coercion have been reached within ss/tt systems of instruction. Arguably, lack of motivation is the single major factor increasing the cost of education. All coercive measures, from taking attendance to expulsion hearings, are ultimately a diversion of resources from the teaching and learning goals of education. Some informal American studies have indicated that teachers devote more than 50 per cent of class time to regulatory and disciplinary matters.

If there is one argument common to all schemes for participation, it is the argument that it will serve to improve the motivation of those involved. Consequently the question is, which forms of participation are likely to affect student motivation. Most directly, schemes for student participation in governing their own education, but these are not the immediate subject of this paper. More indirectly but equally important are schemes to increase the relevance of what goes on in school. To understand what this means, we must refer back to the theoretical framework outlined in section II. There it was argued that education is essentially irrelevant, that is, it takes place without reference to any one immediate application. This has a powerful alienating effect which it takes a significant level of motivation to overcome. It was pointed out that certain things can indeed be learned by doing them, that is taking full responsibility for them first time. What this does is tie education, which generally is independent of present reality, to some predetermined, perhaps somewhat protected segment of the present. In practically all cases this will involve the community, since teachers are inherently disqualified by virtue of their primary relationship to the students. It means either sending students into the community or bringing elements of the community into the classroom, through some arrangement involving the participation of parent or community groups or both.

Having argued the case from one side, we can also turn it around, and point out that bringing parent or community groups into the schools can have a significant effect on student motivation by making what goes on in schools more relevant. It has the added effect of mediating between students and teachers. Motivation is very often defined as a student's motivation to do a certain thing; on the other hand, very often motivation or the lack of it is not dependent on the nature of the thing involved but on the relationship of the student to the teacher. To introduce additional persons into this relationship can often mean easing whatever inhibiting influence a teacher may have on a given student.

b) Teachers

Teachers are thought to have high levels of participation in most educational systems today, and any change is consequently supposed to be detrimental to their interests. Teacher attitudes towards most experiments in participation indicate that they see no particular advantage in them for themselves. Very often, however, teachers are economically and socially dependent on the existing system, and consequently it involves substantial willingness to take risks to even conceive of alternatives. Furthermore, teachers often feel estranged from administrative bodies that control their schools, so that there certainly appears to be more scope for increased participation at this level. Teachers are often in fact in a rather ambiguous position, since their role is defined solely in terms of their relationship to their students, but in reality their work is very much controlled by outside forces which they view as unresponsive. Since the existing system is keyed to the teachers, a high premium is attached to controlling them, whatever the price.

This situation is stultifying to teacher initiative in any direction, but ultimately the teachers have more ability to change schools than any other single group. Insofar as participatory arrangements serve to make teachers more effective in their roles as teachers, they will inevitably end up increasing the teachers' prestige, contrary to what is generally assumed. The problem with the present situation is that a teacher's prestige is often considered to be inherent. Status is, however, a consensual social phenomenon. Teachers no less than preachers or politicians require visible signs of confirmation in their roles, from parents, from the authorities, from community groups (often the media are particularly important in this respect) and above all from the students. Participation, where it is effective will often increase the burden on the teachers.

It most often will also dramatically increase the rewards for those who are involved.

The importance of teacher motivation is often underrated. As a matter of fact, it is second only to student motivation as a factor influencing the ability of schools to function. Even though there are countless teachers who view teaching as simply another job (with rapid expansion of the teaching profession this is all but inevitable), it is dangerous in the extreme to model teacher roles on this attitude. Schools would very soon break down.

Very often the better teachers will also prove willing to engage in participatory arrangements, in fact many of them do so unconsciously. This indicates the validity of our previous argument. It also creates great problems, both in staffing participatory environments and in evaluating their success or failure. Frequently, one finds that the participatory arrangement is in competition with the rest of the system for the best teachers' time; and as a consequence of attracting unusual teachers, the validity of an experiment can often be drawn into doubt. What needs to be pointed out here is that such experiments invariably involve the teachers and a further group. And in the case of the latter it is obvious that even if these are the most able of students, parents or community resource people, they represent an immediate net gain for the school.

### c) Community groups

The degree of control presently exercised by the community or by groups in the community over education is a matter of sometimes ideological debate. Unquestionably, the community in the broader sense must supply the necessary protection to allow a school to function, and undoubtedly it can threaten to withdraw that protection by involving itself in the affairs of the school through its political organs. To a certain degreee the immediate community of the school shares in this role. Consequently, ultimate control over the schools is vested in somebody who reflects the community's political structure: be it ministerial, local school board or local administrative or elected authority. From this point of view, the community has a high level of involvement in the school's affairs.

This role, while sometimes exercised through a form of representation, can hardly be described as participation, since in virtually every instance, the bodies vested with control over the schools have tended to exclude any further community influence on them. The trend is self-reinforcing: education administrations tend to arrogate authority to themselves, and community groups to delegate more and more authority to the schools and their administrative structures. This trend has been further abetted by legislation and teacher practice. This has caused many parents to withdraw from responsibility towards their children, which in turn has forced schools to take on more and more of the task. If parents are to play a constructive role in schools, ways must be found to involve them directly in what goes on inside them. This can occur both at the action and at the policy level, but in each instance it has important consequences in terms of the interrelationships between parents, teachers, school authorities, community groups and students.

Ultimately one must answer the question: who speaks for the community? Dealing with large bureaucratic institutions (which school systems by now invariably are) requires a certain degree of expertise. Dealing with one's fellow-citizens in open confrontational process requires a certain ability to speak and to resist manipulation. Do only those with "community expertise" get to participate? At certain levels this is undoubtedly true: only democratically legitimised, representative bodies have any chance of dealing effectively with central authorities. But there are many levels of participation, and participation at central levels cannot replace the different requirements at decentralised levels In local schools, opportunities for direct participation increases and within a school subgroups may exist which allow individual participation almost independently of participatory skills. It is necessary to define what the relevant "community" is in any given situation and to structure participation accordingly. In view of the fact that participation is voluntary and depends on motivation, it is unrealistic to develop avenues of involvement which do not correspond to participants' expectations. The first act of participation is still the decision to participate.

## 3. Reducing the importance of formal education

### a) Changes in teacher roles

The most important immediate effect of increased participation of any kind at the action level is a change in the role of the teacher. We have discussed some aspects of this change in relation to teacher motivation, but there are many more ramifications, since in response to the manifold measures to control teachers (either by careful screening devices prior to appointment or by controlling the curriculum, or both), these have in turn acted to protect themselves and to cement their position within the educational system by a steady process or by professionalisation and centralisation. These trends are drawn into question by participation arrangements of almost any kind which involve the immediate community or the students of an individual school.

Even in participation at the policy level, the teacher's role may change substantially, depending on the scope given to participation. Formal schemes, such as parent-teacher associations, already have some effect on teachers in that they force them to justify their actions by some standard other than those of the profession alone. When the profession's standards are cited in such a relationship it is often done in an attempt to curtail discussion; the fact that this is successful does not negate the equally important fact that it can be challenged by parents without the kind of professional jeopardy which teachers must risk who run counter to the prevailing wisdom of the profession

Parent-teacher associations have, however, generally been subject to much the same external constraints as teachers. This is vividly illustrated by reported comments by school authorities in Hamburg when justifying recent reforms which gave students and parents increased influence in the schools. When someone pointed out that the new assemblies (with equal representation from students, parents and teachers) might institute undesirable innovations, it was pointed out that the authorities retained the right of final review and veto over anything these assemblies might do. In all fairness it must however be added that the burden of proof for a decision had indeed been shifted away from the schools towards the authorities; the shift was simply not quite as complete as first appearances would have it.

Even in various arrangements for opening the schools to their communities, either by offering night school instruction or by making the school available for community activities, or by bringing more community members into the school, the teacher's role will change. In non-instructional situations, the teacher is obviously no longer the sole referent. In fact very often such activities are so separate from the rest of the school's life that teachers will not perceive any relationship between the two. But even in instructional situations the teacher's role is subtly changed when he faces adults. Not only do all of these adults have some element of competence where they could themselves function as teachers, even though this may not be at all academic in nature, but also the temporal relationship is affected. When facing young students, the teacher is the undisputed referent of the past, as is clearly illustrated in the teaching of history, which will deal exclusively with matters the students have not actively participated in. In the case of grown-ups, this is no longer the case. Furthermore, parents and community people cannot leave their roles behind when they enter the school; they are older, consequently the unconscious time-span they work with is reduced, and the ability to exclude present reality is dramatically reduced.

Unquestionably, ss/tt instruction lends itself to professionalisation, since it becomes possible to view teachers' activities quite apart from any relationship to students (since such relationships are excluded a priori, and rapidly come to be viewed as outside any rational control). Moreover, an individual teacher's responsibility can be much more narrowly defined, since not the individual effort but the cumulative effects are the ultimate outcomes of education.

One might argue that these effects of ss/tt instruction are self-evident because that is precisely the way in which we have defined it. Professionalisation was not, however, part of our definition; and the whole complex is self-reinforcing: ss/tt instruction lends itself to subdivision of subjects; subdivision lends itself to restriction of teacher competence; restriction of competence lends itself to professionalisation, and vice versa. Social relationships are never causal; they are mutual and interlocking.

Where participation arrangements involve the introduction of a project structure (and at the action level they invariably do) this in turn threatens the subject-related competence of the teacher (and consequently his present role) since a project is defined not in terms of a discipline but in terms of some immediate reality which is to be replicated or isolated for instructional purposes. This will normally defy compartmentalisation and force the teacher into a position of having to teach where he does not have competence according to the traditional standards. This does not mean, as we have argued above, that he necessarily does not have the competence to teach at this level at this time since teaching does not imply any one definition of competence. It is a responsive activity and the measure of competence is the ability to give a response which corresponds to some disciplinary ideal. Probably any increase in the participation of non-professionals will lead to the inclusion of some kind of participatory competence as part of teacher training, indicating that an increase in participation will not abolish professionalism but rather cause a shift in our definition of what constitutes professional behaviour.

### b) The "Quality" of education

Arrangements for participation will normally reduce the total amount of information offered to students and will tend to emphasize process over content. Relative to prior norms, developed on the basis of ss/tt instruction - giving exclusive attention to whatever happens in school and assuming that more is usually better - this will appear as a reduction in the "quality" of education and greater surface inefficiency will be visible. One of the paradoxes of ss/tt systems with their built-in reliance on duplication and wastage is their surface efficiency: large bodies of material are covered and measures of success or failure are so impersonal and on such a short time scale that a coherent and apparently convincing pattern emerges - as if learning were a linear process without effort and contention! Any change from such a system, even if more efficient in terms of long-term student retention in relation to teacher effort, will have the appearances of greater inefficiency because of more visible activity and turbulence.

The issues of quality are important, emotional issues (we will discuss them further in relation to problems of evaluation) but they are closely linked with questions of equality of opportunity and the role of the schools as institutions of social selection. Consequently it is vital that they be confronted and clarified. We have argued that there is an important "extra curriculum" connected with the formal experience of school. We have argued that social class correlates positively with access to that "extra curriculum". Consequently any rational policy for equal opportunity cannot afford to restrict itself to providing equal access to the formal curriculum. Until some degree of equality can be achieved in relation to the "extra curriculum", schools cannot conceivably be significant vehicles for achieving greater equality of opportunity than they currently are anyhow (one should not overlook the fact that schools have always provided a certain measure of social mobility and continue to do so). We further argued that participation arrangements are the major available vehicle for exploring the possibilities of affecting the "extra curriculum". The "price" will have to be the appearances of a reduction in quality.

c) Changes in standards

With increased participation there will, for a considerable period of time, be a confusion of standards, that is, of formalised measures of quality. Large systems generally do not worry about inherent quality; once established their main concern is maintaining "standards" derived from some original notion of quality, and these standards very soon become ends in themselves, even when they are no longer indicative of the sought-after quality. Consequently, large systems are more responsive to any shift in standards than to a deterioration of inherent quality.

The initial phase after an increase in participation generally engenders disputes over the success or failure of the venture. As a rule, it has been identified as a major departure in the educational system (whether the change involves more parent involvement or whatever) and it will be accompanied by an understandable and legitimate concern for evaluating. The difficulties arise when old standards are applied to new processes, and the dispute rapidly moves from one of success or failure to one concerning the legitimacy of evaluations.

Even when it comes to rather traditional outcomes of participation (for example whether students have, as is often claimed, learned to learn - a typical process outcome rather than a content one) it is extremely difficult to verify them. All of our objectivised measures aim at establishing what was learned by way of content. Recourse to research of a disciplinary kind is hardly any help either - the research ethic itself is anti-process, since it requires a "data base", one of the most static concepts ever invented. Process measures necessarily have high levels of indeterminacy which can be bridged only on the basis of personal judgment, and this in turn requires acquiescence on the part of the judged, in other words an important element of personal trust. In typical conflictual situations, such trust may not exist, particularly since one party to such disputes is often convinced that it is not a matter of trust at all.

The call for evaluation of participation schemes is fundamentally legitimate. The critical issue is not whether there shall be evaluation or not, the critical issue is that the criteria for evaluation must be consonant with the stated goals of the participatory arrangement, and there is a universal suspicion that such criteria will be slanted one way or another to affect the outcome. As a matter of fact they are, since evaluation criteria in educational enterprises are never objective but consensual - even if they have been objectivised, they require the consent of those being evaluated who may very often challenge the applicability of the objectivisation procedures as destroying the ability to measure faithfully, and rightly so, as we have tried to point out.

### d) Participation and selection

As a consequence of the shift in standards, participation should normally reduce the importance of current measures in selection decisions, since these in turn are dependent on prevailing standards of excellence. It needs to be emphasized, however, that this is not identical with a reduction of the importance of schools in social selection procedures. The opposite is in fact the case: on the one hand schools would become much more complex, open, responsive institutions, on the other hand they would be more explicitly equipped to play their role in the selection process.

There is a real dilemma here, the dilemma which marks the dividing line between participation procedures and deschooling measures. Attempts to promote equality of opportunity through an extension of formal education to a much larger population have largely been a disappointment. By changing the schools through increased participation, one is essentially trying to revitalise an institution which has failed so that it may try once more. On must seriously consider whether schools are incapable of being transformed in such a manner as to make them effective instruments in promoting social equality. Conceivably they may only be part of a larger overall strategy; conceivably they may be so closely linked to one form of instruction that the best we can do is to limit their influence on society at large while taking other appropriate steps to promote equality.

Increased participation introduces new factors into the process of social selection, factors which are not necessarily stable over time and place and which may prove difficult to express in sequential terms.

Criteria of social selection are not identical with educational achievements anyhow. In reality, all selection decisions are multi-dimensional already, whether this is openly admitted or not. By formalising this multi-dimensionality one is not making it any harder to achieve a measure of social equality - one is simply making it evident why so little progress has been achieved in that direction under the present system.

## 4. New educational roles

The process of steadily increasing specialisation and professionalisation has seen the creation of a multiplicity of new roles in the schools, from school psychologist to poet in residence. What has gone unnoticed is the fact that while many more roles have been created, these have conformed to a very small number of basic patterns. The roles are differentiated by the tasks which people perform, not by their basic relationships to one another. As a matter of fact, with the creation of many new roles we have seen a steady reduction in the variety of role patterns in education.

Participation will lead to a much greater variety of role patterns which one might describe as para-professional, that is of persons exercising functions normally reserved for professionals without acquiring the status of professionals because they are fully committed elsewhere. The teacher's aide is a typical para-professional, only that he is generally construed as being dependent on the teacher. It is important that new groups admitted into the school not be made dependent on the existing constellations.

We have discussed a number of such situations: parents as resource persons or referents in m/a relationships; community persons in similar roles; students in teaching functions; adults as students. In none of these cases do the persons involved actually discard their primary role. They have the important function of developing roles over a much more differentiated spectrum. Instead of viewing education as solely the relationship of teacher and student (whether in an m/a or an ss/tt mode) one can then view the process as something new and essentially different, which we might call the education society to indicate that education is a fundamental process of temporal renewal in an environment as rich in relationships as the community which surrounds it, even though it still remains in many essential aspects protected from the immediate presence of that community.

## 5. The economics of participation

The economics of participation are a relatively murky subject, since nobody has had enough experience with participatory experiments to make confident claims as to their economic impact. Indirectly, they have been explored in connection with the economics of the voucher plan in the United States of America (Levin). There is a general rule that experiments end up increasing the cost of education because they tend to be additive. This is not always the experiments' fault, since very often authorities will only authorise them if they feel certain that the former structures are adequately protected to be resurrected when needed. This obviously involves a certain amount of duplication. In addition, there is a concept of seed money, which argues that start-up costs of an experiment will exceed normal operating expenses. Consequently the initial phases need to be better financed. But this argument contains great dangers, since the "richness" of the experiment will cause envy and will be grounds for rejecting the validity of its results, and can create unjustifiable expectations. As a general rule, it is advisable to fund experiments exactly as one would fund "normal" operations, but allowing great discretion in the internal reallocation of funds, since this process is very often part of the essence of the experiment. In most instances, educational costs have risen so steeply that this should provide an ample basis for operation (Jørgensen 1973).

In spite of our sketchy knowledge about the economics of participation, some ready hypotheses are worth pursuing.

### a) The cost/benefit of commitment

We have argued above that the custodial functions of schools are a diversion of resources. This argument can be taken a step further.

Certain coercive measures are all but unavoidable. Consequently, such measures are not always a diversion of resources. But some reasonable balance must be maintained, and there is evidence to indicate that the costs of coercion are not only reflected in the time actually spent on the measures involved but also in the decrease on effectiveness of all other activities in the school. To put it in its bluntest terms: the more the schools resemble custodial institutions such as hospitals and prisons, the more teachers will come to resemble custodial personnel. This fact is vividly illustrated by the series of films made by Gerry Friedman on "total institutions" (on the basis of the theory of Goffmann): *Titicut Follies*; *Police*; *High School*. It is also reflected in much of the language used by young people to describe schools (Kozol 1968). Custodial institutions are expensive simply because they are determined to maintain their operations independently of the will of their "clients". In social institutions this always costs money and destroys the social climate of the institution. While the parallel to prisons is still very much overstated in most cases, the economics of the basic processes involved are very much the same.

A rather more positive example of the economic benefit of high motivation is the Open University. Its costs have consistently lain under those of comparable institutions for the very simple reason that high motivation is a built-in prerequisite for success and consequently there is a strong process of self-selection among applicants. The Open University, in dealing only with self-motivated students, illustrates very clearly the direct impact of positive motivation on costs.

### b) Capital investment and participation

The capital investments required by education have grown enormously over the years. Even while complaining about the underutilisation of educational facilities, authorities have continued to build on the assumption that all activities of a school must take place within specially constructed buildings. Once these buildings are there, complaints about their underutilisation accumulate and schemes are devised to increase the rate of use.

One may well ask, however, whether the buildings need have been constructed in the first place. Parkway School in Philadelphia has gone all the way in abolishing its school buildings and using the community as its school. In this paper, we have argued that it is not possible to dispense with ss/tt instruction and this always requires some special kind of building. Nevertheless, Parkway does indicate one important potential economic effect of changing school/community relationships in favour of a more participatory procedure.

Several other examples exist, which may be even more indicative although they are drawn from higher education. The Open University is one. It has been able to build a significant central facility and to maintain a number of decentralised facilities while still staying well below normal levels of capital investment. Dartmouth College recently instituted a plan under which students were expected to spend at least 25 per cent of their time "in the field", and was thereby able to increase its enrolment by one third without the necessity for a major new capital investment programme. More mundanely, most schools which have experimented with participation have found that a substantial number of activities were taking place outside the school (sometimes in such unusual locations as the local prison or the nearest café) allowing them to manage with what would otherwise have been entirely inadequate facilities.

### c) Teaching loads

In most countries, teachers view themselves as overworked. In the case of teachers who try to do their work conscientiously this is undoubtedly true. Two factors must be taken into account: as educational systems have grown, emphasis has been increasingly placed on the formal ss/tt relationship. Consequently teachers have been expected to undertake many tasks which previously were part of the "extra curriculum". Homework is a relatively simple example of this: it is becoming harder and harder to transfer work from the classroom to the home environment by way of homework, for both good reasons and bad. Consequently teachers must somehow accommodate the work which would have been done at home in their class schedule without being officially allowed to reduce the amount of other activities covered. This increases the pressure under which the teachers must work. The other factor is the general reduction of working hours which the teacher has only participated marginally in. Most countries view a weekly teaching load of from 20 to 25 hours as quite normal for teachers. With only superficial preparation and taking into account the variety of supplementary tasks teachers are having to undertake, this translates into a weekly work load of 50 to 60 hours, particularly since a certain amount of vacation time is needed for work-related activities.

There have been great difficulties in reducing teaching loads. Not only are the costs prohibitive, but in a growing system the tendency is always to increase group sizes as a means of absorbing some of the temporary pressure. As group sizes have grown, however, priority has been given to reducing group sizes rather than teaching loads; both measures are in direct competition. The introduction of mediators into the teaching process, should they be students teaching students, or parents and other resource persons teaching students, or sending students out of the school to learn "on location", offers the opportunity for significant financial savings. This is a system already universally in use (some might even say in abuse) at colleges and universities where students are used as tutors, assistants and instructors. These arrangements, however, often fail to achieve the desired educational result (although they always achieve the desired economic effect) because the participating students are not free to act in a new role but are forced into rigid teacher roles. This phenomenon is worth citing since it is a clear illustration of the consequences of trying to choose between interlocking effects of participatory arrangements.

d) Participation and the calendar

To achieve these effects, a severe strain will be placed on the calendar. We have frequently mentioned that participation arrangements will often lead to surface turbulence. This is most dramatically illustrated in scheduling difficulties.

The free disposition of one's time is one of the most valuable assets; consciously or not, one of the first things which people will do when they get a chance, is to reschedule their activities to suit themselves. Unfortunately, preferences are not uniform, and as a consequence most participation arrangements which go beyond mere formalism will require a rather fundamental reworking of the individual calendars of students and teachers as well as of the overall institutional calendar. School calendars have increasingly been modelled on the scheduling procedures of industrial concerns which are product-oriented and not person-oriented (Rosenstock-Huessy 1953). Any change in these practices will have a deep impact on everybody involved in the schools. A loosening of the calendar is unquestionably desirable: just as the deeper inefficiencies of ss/tt instruction are linked to its surface efficiency, so the diseconomies of facilities utilisation are linked to the inflexible calendar of most institutions.

In general it can be said that increased participation will make the schools much harder to administer centrally. Decentralisation becomes a necessary corollary of participation. If there is one group which will unquestionably have to either carry a greater burden or relinquish significant amounts of influence under participation schemes, it will be the administrative authorities.

In this nearly self-evident observation there lies the seed of the undoing of any participatory scheme since there will have to be an interface somewhere between local authority and central authority where two opposed paradigms of legitimacy confront one another: participation assumes that authority derives from action, and that education groups engaged in purposive action should be self-legitimate. Most educational systems are, however, presently constructed on a hierarchical principle which assumes that ultimate authority has been vested in some central body and is delegated from there. The point of interface (generally the person highest in the hierarchy still recognised as legitimate by the participants- in most cases the school director, in some a single teacher, and very rarely an official of the central administrative authority) will be the point of conflict, a conflict not between two persons or offices but a conflict carried out within a single person or office which is viewed in its hierarchical context by those "higher up" and its participatory context by those it represents.

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## Chapter III

# A CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

by

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A number of separate, though interrelated themes emerge from the discussions at Slaugham and from the papers presented to the conference. The outcome of the discussion is better described, perhaps, as the opening up of some common areas of concern and the exploration of some differing hypotheses about them than as a set of conclusions. Of conclusions there were few which could be drawn with any confidence, because the nature of the conference was such as to exploit the differences of experience, expertise and national background and not to seek a consensus upon which acceptable generalisations could be based.

What stands out from all this is that school and community interaction still has no clear-cut silhouette - it presents a number of different shapes, all of them fuzzy at the edges. In the absence of any unifying theoretical frame, the kaleidoscopic effect is likely to continue. An international conference like this one is important as a means of focusing attention and separating different parts of the whole into manageable patterns. Three areas of discussion emerged from the conference as topics of major interest:

1. Which Community?
2. Radical Revolution or Marginal Improvement?
3. Participation and Professionalism

### 1. Which Community?

Who speaks for the community? Which community are you speaking about? These are variants on the questions which recur in every discussion and in one paper after another.

One aspect has already been referred to: for much of the time the discussion dodged the questions of central and local government in education.(1) Most of the examples of community schools and alternatives came from the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. The United States is the classical example of the devolution of power in educational administration to the local school board. In the United Kingdom the distribution of functions between the central government, the local authorities, and the examination boards leaves a good deal of leeway for experiment and initiative at the level of the school itself. It cannot be insignificant that attempts to develop local responses to local community needs seem to be more forthcoming where the mechanism for establishing national responses to national community needs is seen to be weakest.

Many of the types of school and community interaction within public education systems which were described and discussed at the conference would have been legally impossible in many of the countries represented in OECD without some special dispensation or legal provision for experimentation. The Yerres centre which M. Estève described was made possible under special experimental rules and depended upon the continued support of highly-placed backers within the bureaucracy.

It was clear that in many countries there is much interest in making possible more experiments of this kind even where the normal rules would prevent them. But the difference between a series of exceptional experiments planned and engineered from above and spontaneous local adaptation to circumstance and opportunity in a highly decentralised system is real enough.

Special experiments may be successful as pilot projects. They may point the way to large-scale changes (though the process analogous to tissue rejection whereby the schools at the local level successfully resist innovation imposed from the top is well enough documented by now to give rise to some doubts). But a "central" policy of local community action is quickly seen to be a contradiction in terms unless it implies a deliberate intention of relinquishing national control hitherto exercised over a range of educational policies in many centralised educational systems. If there is to be an intimate relationship between the school and the local community with impact on a wide range of school activities - the whole gamut of what the Anglo-Saxons call the curriculum - then it does mean accepting a degree of pluralism of aims, values and practices which has hitherto been unacceptable to the exponents of national education in many European countries, for reasons which may still be thought to be politically sound.

It is self-evident that more decentralisation of power would open the way for more flexible responses to community demands. But this does nothing to answer the political questions about which decisions are properly taken at which level.

It could be that for some purposes the community should be very local indeed; for others it must be the nation state. Where to place the different loci of decision-making in education must depend on the particular aims and purposes attributed to any national education system within the totality of social policy. "Which community"? therefore, is also a way of asking the extent to which national arrangements for education are deemed to be subordinate to larger social aims such as uniform standards of provision, a common curriculum, and competing concepts of equality and equality of opportunity.

The answers depend on weighing one social good against another - national aims versus local needs, equality versus choice, efficiency versus diversity.... The tendency to concentrate experiments in local community school development in deprived areas and inner city slums serves to accentuate these political value conflicts because the differences which may be expected to arise as a result of local initiatives show themselves in overtly social class terms. They lead to attempts to develop curricular activities, teaching methods and social interaction programmes which are appropriate and meaningful for a deprived urban working class and schools which can deliberately respond more fully to the perceived and expressed needs of urban communities whose principal characteristic is poverty. The logical corollary to a special deprived working class curriculum for an educational priority area in Liverpool or Marseilles or Hamburg must be a "privileged middle class curriculum" for the more salubrious parts of town. In many countries this would represent a reactionary situation - a return in a new guise to explicitly class-based curricula, producing an inevitable tendency to polarise social class conflicts and politicise the schools.

To voice this interpretation, however, is to risk falling into a trap which was always present in the general discussion - of carrying things to their logical conclusion, that reductio ad absurdum which can be more misleading than anything else when dealing with educational activities which are rarely logical and never conclusive. There are a whole range of gradations between absolute central control and absolute local autonomy and most of the interesting questions are concerned with matters of degree - how to discover, consult and reflect intermediate communities. This is, after all, only an educational example of the larger political question of how to orchestrate the sub-groups of sectional or regional or local interest which exist within the larger framework of the state, the difference being that in educational politics the sub-group may be extremely informal and extremely local.

As far as education is concerned, most countries recognise the need for intermediate units of administration between the national or state government and the school itself - units which may or may not correspond with local government institutions for other public services. There is, therefore, a range of levels at which educational policy and administrative decisions are made, each with some claims to represent the community in a valid way.

The existence of these institutions of regional or local government - each with its own legitimacy and each charged with the duty of representing the community for different purposes, complicates the process by which school and community interaction can be encouraged at the local level.

For many educational purposes, the level at which community involvement is important is the school itself, a level at which elected politicians may only have a limited role to play, and may well resist the transfer of responsibilities from - say - the local authority to - say - a school board of governors.(2) The political representative who has submitted himself to the ordeal of the ballot box may be disposed to dispute the legitimacy of the claim by the parent or the leader of some local interest group to be in any special sense the representative of the community. Yet, at the action level - the individual school, or some part of it - these unelected representatives may be the more effective spokesmen for the relevant section of the community. (The logic of this, of course, goes even further: for many educational purposes, the community is the individual child and family. Community involvement could easily become tyrannical if it usurped the role of the parent and the student whose personal commitment and motivation is a factor in the educational process.)

The more seriously the idea of pluralism is taken, the sooner this leads away from the limited discussion of public education "systems" which imply homogeneous communities (with strictly limited choice dominated by urban transport, zoning rules and so forth) towards alternatives of other kinds. These imply a lack of homogeneity - the existence of different communities alongside each other with their own separate educational needs and predilections. Historically the Churches have provided the most familiar examples of this kind of pluralism, reflecting their differences (which now seem more like similarities in a secular society) in their own denominational schools, taught by their own teachers and celebrating their own religious rites. Most European countries have found ways of coping with this form of pluralism, if necessary reflecting it in parallel systems of Catholic, Protestant and secular schools maintained from public funds, or else accepting the existence of a large network of private church schools alongside the public system.

The question "Which Community?" differentiates, therefore, between two kinds of school and community interaction. On the one hand there is interaction between public schools - institutions of the state or of local government - and the neighbourhood community which the school exists to serve, and on the other hand, the school may interact with looser, non-geographical, communities of like-minded individuals, united not by neighbourhood or topography but by interest - religious, social, political, educational. Ethnic considerations may cut across this distinction. So too may questions of educational organisation involving academic selection and curricular differentiation. But the existence of this kind of community - self-selected and the reflexion of communal diversity, not homogeneity - raises a quite different range of questions. When they are linked - or contrasted - with conventional ideas of community development the full extent of the challenge of pluralism becomes apparent.

If, as some of the United States participants suggested, homogeneous community development is a chimera never to be realised because consensus is disappearing, then the community schools which will come to the fore will be of this pluralistic kind and interest will therefore focus on administrative devices like those in Denmark and Holland for channelling public funds into the private alternatives, set up by parents' co-operatives and independent foundations. Or else, what begins as the development of alternatives within the state system, when geography and transport permit, gives way to the logical triumph of consumerism - school and community interaction at the most local level of all - in the shape of education vouchers and all that they imply. The formidable apparatus of public education in Europe seems solidly hostile to the public recognition of pluralism by such a radical innovation as vouchers and the deliberate dismantling of a huge and powerful bureaucracy which vouchers would entail. But the interest now being aroused by experiments on these lines in the United States lies in the fact that, starting from opposite ends of the argument, certain groups of liberals and conservatives seem to be coalescing behind the concept of private choice to which vouchers give expression

At a more modest level of discussion arguments about the organic nature of community enter into every phase of the debate. What is the largest size of social organism in which the individual can actually play a direct part? Direct participation differs in essence from participation through representatives - or does it? What political institutions are needed to reflect the contending elements within the local community? Many of these questions come up in the never-ending discussion of participation and the relations between the participating community in all its forms and the professionals within the education system to which reference is made later on.

It would be absurd to speak of drawing conclusions from debate which showed so wide a diversity of local circumstance, local aims and responses, local personalities. It was difficult to resist the belief that the success or failure of existing schemes (leaving aside, for a moment, the questions which "success" and "failure" beg in this context) depends to a large extent on individual factors - the charismatic qualities of those who take part, their personal commitments, their ideologies, their missionary zeal, their administrative competence or ineptitude and sectarian fire. Alongside these highly personal attributes of individual teachers, administrators, community "persons" and leaders, go the political and ideological movements which they generate collectively, and the deep divisions of opinion about society which school and community interaction opens up.

## 2. Radical Revolution or Marginal Improvement?

At the theoretical level the gap between the radicals and the evolutionary educators is so wide that it is not at all clear that they are speaking the same language. Robert Ashcroft's paper opened up a lively discussion of these and related issues. On the face of it there is a fairly straightforward polarisation - which can be shown by the evidence of the conflict which has arisen in practice between the radicals and the evolutionists.

But practical experiments in community interaction do not necessarily correspond neatly to the ideal types which are postulated by these alternatives. Individuals are caught in a crossfire. The language they use often invokes the same windy rhetoric, and the difficult, but necessary task is to recognise the full import of the rival theories on which "mainstream" and "radical" approaches are based, without at the same time taking them at their face value or pushing either to their logical extremes of violent revolution or liberal conservatism.

The highly individualistic nature of many community school projects have enabled some profoundly radical schemes to go forward with backing from the funds of governments which do not subscribe to their frankly subversive aims. Yet, as Ashcroft points out, sooner or later conflict with authority tends to become inevitable and the life expectancy of radical experiments is not good, nor is the job security of radical community educators.

The causes of conflict are not hard to find if the educator throws in his lot with the radical community worker who sees his job as helping people to interpret their living conditions in a deprived area in Marxist terms and to go on from there to mobilise the resources for change. Politicisation of the school curriculum brings obvious dangers of collision with public education authorities and professional organisations.

More often than not open conflict comes less at the school level than in connection with adult education where what is and is not acceptable is much less clearly defined and anything - including overt political material or an immediate political issue - may be grist for the adult educators' mill. And alongside all their political grounds for confrontation there may also be more obviously educational ones - when for instance the essentially conservative ideas of the community members themselves conflict with progressive teaching methods espoused by the community-minded teacher, or when the teacher is ultimately unwilling to cede to the community power and influence which he himself has taught it to demand.

The radical approach, by reason of its root and branch character, can only be assessed in relation to the global aims of social regeneration which it embraces; it can only be seen as a whole - it is almost a contradiction in terms to try to isolate the school and its doings from other much more fundamental attempts to turn the community world upside down.

For most practical purposes a majority of the participants in the CERI conference were looking for evolutionary educational change, not radical revolution. They approached questions of school and community relationship from the point of view of educators first and sociologists or community development workers second. Their point of departure was the impact of the community on the school and the profound belief that without close working relationship with parents and with community institutions they could not mobilise the full resources which they needed to enable each individual child to achieve his full potential.

This is a personal interpretation of the attitudes of many different individuals - a presumptuous attempt, maybe, to describe a consensus of view which was never deliberately sought, on the basis of a rapporteur's notes of many meetings. This "educational" viewpoint was certainly not the only one nor is it presented as if it were. But if the starting point was educational, the pursuit of experience and argument led quickly to the point where the educational and the community enrichment(3) aims commingle and fuse together. Then the teacher's paternalistic desire to mobilise community support merges into his equally genuine desire to see community institutions gather strength; his jealous concern to protect his professional competence has to take account of his own commitment to participation and resource-sharing; his responsibilities towards his pupil's individual advancement take their place alongside responsibilities to a local community and what seems most relevant to its immediate life.

The sociologists tended to analyse the role conflicts of the teacher in such a situation in terms of threats and reactions to threats. They found the teachers in a community school in an impossible position in which survival depended on successful bluff or cheerful hypocrisy. Those at the conference who had found themselves in the thick of it in their own practical experience recognised the tensions - including the tensions which might lose a radical his job or cause a "mainstreamer" to manipulate a situation paternalistically rather than see his work destroyed - but seemed willing to accept these tensions as part of the given situation. A certain realistic resignation seemed in order. As one former headmaster observed in a phrase which might have served as a motto for the conference: "if you don't expect too much you won't be disappointed". Expecting too much is the perennial risk when any new fashion hits the educational scene.

Jerry Fletcher spoke for many when he stressed the need for evidence about limited yet valuable kinds of development - marginal changes which were good enough to be worth the effort. What kind of empirical practical norms could be applied to the process of analysis? How could evidence of participation be standardized in a form in which it could be shared in very different countries? What were the "trade-offs" which came into the account - the losses as well as the gains, the opportunity costs implied by effort put into community development which might have been put into something else - possibly something which had nothing to do with education at all?

As he put them, these were research workers' questions, asking for methods of calibrating educational and social activity and reducing it to measurable proportions, which raised formidable methodological difficulties which no doubt it would be fascinating for social scientists to work out (which raises other questions about opportunity cost). But what could be taken as something like an agreed conclusion was the general belief that more empirical evidence is needed about school and community interaction and that the lack of it contributes to the sense of isolation of those working in this field.

## 3. Professionalism and Participation

Many of the wider issues of school and community relationships seem to centre on the question of participation discussed in Konrad von Moltke's paper. Von Moltke mounts the discussion within the framework of a theory of education and brings forward the outline of a major reorganisation of schooling which pays the same attention to the "other" curriculum outside the school and classroom which depends on community participation and notably the participation of parents, as it does to the programme for which the school accepts responsibility.

For most of the time at Slaugham the discussion was on a lower plane: there was a recognition that an educational institution could not make good its claim to be open to the community, and at the service of the community, without involving parents and "community persons" in its affairs. Hence the search for participatory groups and individuals and the arguments about the different levels of intensity at which participation should take place.(4)

Much of the argument became entangled in the legalistic undergrowth: does participation necessarily imply control? Can it be real unless it can actually involve decision-making? If so, what is a decision for the purpose of the argument? These questions immediately become interwoven with those concerning the nature of the community and the various sub-communities within the whole.

Many forms of participation clearly do not involve control - the parent participates by sending his child to school, by coming to the school on important occasions, by consulting the teachers on matters of difficulty, by making complaints, by attending parent-teacher meetings, by voting in elections for school board members or local councillors. Or he fails to participate. Because in most of the practical situations described by teachers who are working in community schools, parent participation may well be almost marginal for the majority unless it is deliberately stimulated by the action of the school authorities.

If nothing is done, and the teacher waits behind his desk for would-be participators to come to him, the question doesn't arise - participation remains a token affair according to the conventions of the social class or other environmental factors which operate on parent-teacher relations.

If, on the other hand, a school decides to create the circumstances in which participation becomes a reality, this immediately gives rise to argument about the teachers' role. If the initiative comes from the teacher, does this inevitably mean that he, the professional, protected by his professional skin, is acting paternalistically, manipulating the proceedings while keeping a firm grip on them in case they get out of hand?

There is no need to recapitulate the arguments, which are familiar enough and by no means restricted to education. For much of the time, no doubt, participation is a method used by articulate and outgoing teachers to put themselves and their school across to parents and to the community. Why this should be thought to be particularly wicked is not clear but it is certainly quite different from an open-ended democratic process. Those in search of limited but real minor improvements could point to the usefulness of this kind of participation which relies in part at least on the teachers exploiting their professional credit and using the consultative machinery to explain their aims and methods.

In so far as it is manipulative it may run the risk of corrupting the manipulators and of being seen through by the manipulated, and thus proving counter-productive. But not necessarily so; public relations skills, combined with a genuine willingness on the part of the professionals to listen and adapt their policies to the voices they hear, may go a long way to satisfying people in practice - especially as the interest of most parents is centred on their own children who grow up and move off the scene, taking their participating parents with them.

It is open to argument whether the effectiveness of participation should be gauged by the extent to which it enables parents and others to influence what happens in school or by the extent to which it mobilises their support for what the school is trying to do. Establishing the school and its aims is usually something which has happened before the chain of local participation begins. Radical intervention in the participatory process almost certainly involves questioning these prior commitments and demanding that questions which had been supposed to be closed should be reopened.

It was clear that most members of the conference had reservations about the reliance to be placed on representative groups ostensibly acting in the interests of the community because of the voluntary nature of participation, the tendency for such groups to be dominated by activist minorities and the difficulty of articulating the views of the inarticulate but concerned majority. The larger the sub-group within the community, the more tenuous become the links with those immediately concerned.

A major topic of discussion was the relationship between the growing band of professionals at every level and the lay participants. Lay control in the sense of control by parliament, or local control by elected education authorities, has been accepted and domesticated by the proliferation of professional administrators and by the establishment of conventions about the nature of the professional's expertise and, in the case of the teacher, his authority within the classroom. But more lay participation - for example, local lay pressure on the allocation of time within the curriculum on the distribution of resources at the individual school level - introduces a threat to the professional's traditional security: it may force him to try to justify what he now does from habit and experience in terms of non-existent professional principle. It may expose him to conflicting tensions when rival groups of laymen pull in opposite directions. It will come to a head early on over the appointment of staff and the relative importance to appointing bodies of "professional competence" and political stance. It will certainly upset hierarchical relationships: assistant teachers whose own power to participate in decisions within school or education systems is limited will not cede the right to participate to laymen (or pupils) without demanding more participation themselves.

The argument turns on the nature of the teacher's professionalism, and the layman's laity. In practice, of course, laymen who become caught up in education begin to act like semi-professionals: they start to read books and articles, and quote second-hand accounts of third-rate research. Politicians who become members of school boards to represent the lay interest become professional laymen and often up to a half or three quarters of their time is spent in this stylised role. And many of the most active laymen are themselves in some way linked with the educational system or the social services... It is easy to see in the circumstances how difficult it may be to obtain "genuine" participation and "real" power-sharing between laymen and professionals.

Professor Harmon Zeigler in a tour de force at the end of the conference, spoke of the essential need for lay participators to have their own administrative resources, their own access to information. Changing from hierarchy to polyarchy he said depended on developing political institutions to carry out the job. It meant accepting that policy alternatives would have to be backed by competing coalitions or parties. And it meant accepting a decline in the efficiency of decisions which might or might not be acceptable.

He too saw this political process as being a necessary threat to the professionals and one which they might be expected to resist. Radical attempts to redistribute power in education were bound to lead to conflict, some evidence of which could be seen in the "involuntary turnover" of school superintendents as the political battles of American school boards had intensified.

In fairly brutal terms he outlined a case for "participation through politicisation". But, as he pointed out, this strategy assumed a wide consensus within the community or, at least, within the several groups and coalitions of interest which party politics could reflect. However, the real situation as he saw it, drawing on American experience, was pluralist, not consensual. Participation becomes important not so that political parties can enforce the will of the majority on the resisting professionals, but because many individuals want to have their own say. Education, he suggested, is coming to be seen as a private good, paid for with public funds, and contrary to most conventional wisdom "there is no need for consensus about educational goals".

This led him in the direction of vouchers - "the ultimate reform" - and the need to collect empirical evidence on the institutionalised chaos which would accompany the dismantling of the public bureaucracy of education. It was clear that the voucher proposition depends on the hypothesis that the social and political consensus about the aims and objectives of a public education system have disintegrated. It means saying that the aim of satisfying the plural educational wishes of thousands of dissenting individuals should take precedence over other aims, such as the promotion through an education system of some given set of social concerns - such as equality of educational opportunity or equality of outcome. It means putting freedom of choice for individuals first - the interest of communities above the interest of the community.

In the European context - where vouchers have evinced singularly little interest so far - it seems that national governments still have aims to achieve through national education systems which a change to vouchers would frustrate. For example the movement away from selective and segregated secondary schooling still has a long way to go. Where it has been achieved - as for instance in Scandinavia - it is inconceivable that it should readily be discarded.

The voucher is, in principle, a highly flexible instrument, capable of being tailored to any given set of social priorities. What seems reasonably clear is that to achieve the social purposes of most European education systems it would be necessary to restrict fairly severely the range of options which a voucher scheme could be permitted to offer. One man's choice must directly limit another's, as, for example, would be the case if vouchers resurrected "grammar-type" schools. The more the options were limited the less fully would a voucher scheme realise its particular virtues of returning the power of decision to the individual.

The voucher is not so much a method of involving the community more intimately in educational decision-making as a deliberate attempt on the part of the community to withdraw from making collective decisions on a whole range of educational matters. It has to be added, therefore, that there is ample evidence that there are still many more people in the United States who are interested in other methods of encouraging community participation than in the radical changes which a voucher proposal would imply. A strange alliance between the extreme right and the disillusioned left has given birth to a small but articulate voucher lobby, but opposition to these revolutionary proposals is extremely strong, especially among those who speak for the teachers and the educational establishment. Until something more substantial has been achieved by way of experiment, it would be unwise to exaggerate the, as yet minimal, international implications of this largely academic debate.

As for participation generally, enough came out in general discussion to suggest that the range of activities on which evidence is needed is very wide indeed and so will be the differences of opinion as to what does, or does not constitute "real" participation. A few propositions may be hazarded:

- that the motives behind participation differ widely;
- that the desire or willingness to participate is extremely uneven;
- that lay control is only one of many forms of participation which are important in education;
- that the particular mechanisms of formal and informal participation have to vary at every operational level;
- that school-led participation procedures may be a valuable form of public relations, even if they are only partially methods of changing the practices of the school;
- that parents want good lines of communication and "fire-fighting" services so that they can know how to deal with specific problems;
- that participation through political action is only appropriate for certain kinds of situations and given certain kinds of political consensus and competition;
- that professionalism is resistant to attempts by laymen to decide issues which directly affect the professional in his work;
- that professionals have techniques for getting their own way and manipulating consultative processes through their control of information and expertise;
- that parents participate most willingly in matters which affect them and their children most directly;
- that a right to be informed and to ask questions and receive explanations may constitute a valuable form of participation and one which modifies the conduct of professionals;
- that the issues raised by professionalism and participation in education cannot be isolated from similar issues in respect to health, social welfare, housing, etc.;
- that any participation policy which contrives systematically to thwart and undermine the professionals and destroy their self-confidence will deter good professional staff from working under such a policy if they have the choice of working elsewhere;
- that participation by parents (and pupils) must affect relationships between junior and senior staff;
- that, to assess the merits of one form of participation or another, a wide range of trade-offs have to be considered which extend far beyond the purely educational consequences.

If participation is to be more than a slogan; if parents and the people who constitute the community which the school most directly serves are to play an active part in the life and learning of the pupils; if the ground-rules of educational administration are going to change to make this possible - then the role of the professional teacher is going to have to alter, and alter radically, to meet a new situation.

This is unlikely to be assisted by generalised attacks on the teachers' professional conservatism, least of all when these come from members of the other professions who may be better skilled at spotting the mote in the teacher's eye than the beam in their own. The issues raised by the political aspects of increased lay participation are exactly those which may be expected to produce an organised hostile response from teachers' unions, affecting as they do conditions of work, distribution of authority, control over appointments, allocation of resources, independence of professional judgement. What is needed is not an aggressive move to cut the professional down to size, but a reappraisal of what it means to be a professional in the field of education.

This has three obvious implications for all concerned with teacher education and professional training. First, in so far as it is reasonable to describe participation as a potential threat to the teacher's self confidence, it becomes necessary to equip future teachers with the training to enable them to welcome it and respond to it positively. This must be true whatever theory of participation is adopted. Professionals are going to be under an increasing obligation to explain themselves and to adopt open attitudes towards laymen who have the right to be taken seriously.

Secondly, it must suggest the need for a closer understanding between teachers and other professional groups engaged in community development, a need which could be reflected in the training programmes.

Thirdly - and it is the most difficult professional mutation of all - a whole-hearted commitment to school and community interaction means relinquishing the claim to a professional monopoly of teaching. It means recognising the potential teaching contribution of men and women who have not been certificated - legitimated - in the same way as professional teachers. This is the change which will be hardest of all for the teacher training institutions to come to terms with because it threatens to weaken their grasp on the professional process generally.

# REFERENCES

1) Some of the administrative obstacles in the way of local experimentation come out in: Case Studies of Educational Innovation, OECD 1973.

2) One line of approach is to seek ways of strengthening the schools themselves as units of educational administration, as, for example, by creating strong governing bodies for individual institutions and entrusting to them real power over the allocation of the resources committee to each school. In 1973 the Florida State legislature adopted a far-reaching set of reforms on these lines. Each school will have to have an elected parents advisory committee with a carefully defined distribution of power and influence between the principal, the staff and the parents. A feature of the scheme is the obligation of the school to account publicly for the distribution of resources in accordance with policies previously agreed with the parents.

3) One participant wrote afterwards: "If one envisages the aims of community development as a change in social structures - as we tended to do - then the role of education in enabling this kind of change is bound to be very slight if it can exist at all, in communities where there is already a developed structure which is supported by the prevailing political and economic system..... If, on the other hand, one starts from the point of view that communities are groups of people which hang together because they offer some sort of mutual support for their members, one might begin to look at the purpose of education in relation to the community and the role of the school within such communities in a rather different way, and evaluate that role by different criteria.......this would not satisfy the requirements of the "radical" model, but I thought that by the end of the conference there was some measure of agreement that the role of the school vis-à-vis the radical model was likely to be slight in any case. Unless....the school were seen as an agent in radical political or economic change initiated by some other part of society."

4) Leila Sussman and Gayle Speck, writing on "Community Participation in Schools: the Boston Case" in Urban Education (January 1973) provide a case study of the tensions which arise - and of the active part played in heightening them by the local community organiser - when liberal initiators in community school development become caught up in radical claims for community control. Questions of legitimacy - "who speaks for the community?" - of professional/lay conflict, especially over staff appointments and planning decisions, of internal dissension and sectarianism, of the resilience of the power structure in response to radical challenge, are all raised in the Boston case. The authors conclude: "Most of the community-school groups of Boston have been founded in response to a stimulus from the federal 'liberal establishment'. They have subsisted on funds from the same source. They have been small, weak and vulnerable to internal disruption.....their impact on the substance of education is thus far slight.....They have provided chances for upward mobility through the school system for some few blacks, Chinese and

Puerto Ricans. Together with Office of Economic Opportunity neighbourhood groups, they have helped socialise a cadre of political leaders for the newly militant minorities for whom the politics of educational opportunity is so important. However, the "community-control" slogan is illusory. The struggle over control of the schools has little to do with urban geography: it is a class struggle........"

## Appendix

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